

Petras, Siteia

25 years of excavations and studies

Edited by *Metaxia Tsipopoulou*



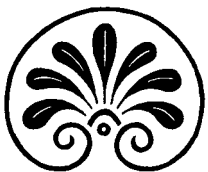
Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens
Volume 16

Petras, Siteia
– 25 years of excavations and studies

Acts of a two-day conference held at the Danish Institute at
Athens, 9–10 October 2010

Edited by

Metaxia Tsipopoulou



Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens
Volume 16

© Copyright The Danish Institute at Athens, Athens 2012

Petras, Siteia – 25 years of excavations and studies

Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens

Volume 16

General Editor: Rune Frederiksen

Graphic design: Erik Hallager and Garifalia Kostopoulou

Proof reading: Metaxia Tsipopoulou, David W. Rupp, Maria Psallida

Translation of abstracts: Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Printed at Narayana Press

Printed in Denmark on permanent paper

Conforming to ANSI Z 39.48-1992

The publication was sponsored by:
The Institute for Aegean Prehistory

ISBN: 978 87 7124 053 5

Distributed by:

AARHUS UNIVERSITY PRESS

Langelandsgade 177

DK-8200 Århus N

www.unipress.dk

Gazelle Book Services Ltd.

White Cross Mills, Hightown

Lancaster LA1 4XS, England

www.gazellebooks.com

The David Brown Book Company (DBBC)

P.O. Box 511

Oakville, CT 06779, USA

www.oxbowbooks.com

Front cover:

Dapper, O. 1688, *Naukeurige Beschryving der Einlanden in de Archipel der Middellantsche zee; en ontrent dezelve, gelegen*, 215 (Collection of Metaxia Tsipopoulou)

Graphic design by Garifalia Kostopoulou and Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Back cover:

Graphic design by Garifalia Kostopoulou and Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Contents

- 11 List of contributors
- 13 Preface
Metaxia Tsipopoulou
- 15 Abbreviations
- 16 Bibliography
- 43 Greetings
from *Erik Hallager*
- 45 Introduction: 25 years of excavations and studies at Petras
Metaxia Tsipopoulou
- I. The earliest occupation: FN-EM I Kephala**
- 69 Back to the beginnings: the earliest habitation at Petras on the basis of the evidence from the FN-EM I settlement on Kephala
Yiannis Papadatos
- 81 Pottery fabrics and recipes in the Final Neolithic and Early Minoan I period: the analytical evidence from the settlement and the Rock Shelter of Kephala Petras
Eleni Nodarou
- 89 Neolithic and Minoan marine exploitation at Petras: diachronic trends and cultural shifts
Tatiana Theodoropoulou
- 105 Obsidian modes of production and consumption from a diachronic perspective as seen from Petras and the Siteia Bay environs (abstract)
Cesare D'Annibale
- II. The Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery**
- 107 The architecture of the house tombs at Petras
Philip P. Betancourt
- 117 The Prepalatial-early Protopalatial cemetery at Petras, Siteia: a diachronic symbol of social coherence
Metaxia Tsipopoulou

- 133 Affluence in eastern Crete: metal objects from the cemetery of Petras
Susan C. Ferrence, James D. Muhly & Philip P. Betancourt
- 145 Seals from the Petras cemetery: a preliminary overview
Olga Krzyszkowska
- 161 Kephala Petras: the human remains and the burial practices in the Rock Shelter
Sevasti Triantaphyllou
- 171 Size does matter: the significance of obsidian microliths and querns at the Petras cemetery
Heidi M.C. Dierckx

III. The transition from the Prepalatial to the Protopalatial

- 179 Defining the end of the Prepalatial period at Petras
Metaxia Tsipopoulou
- 191 The Lakkos pottery and Middle Minoan IB Petras
Donald C. Haggis

IV. Neopalatial Petras

- 205 Petras, Siteia: political, economic and ideological trajectories of a polity
Kostis S. Christakis
- 221 House II.1 at Petras, Siteia: its architectural life
Nektaria Mavroudi
- 235 Vessels in cooking fabrics from Petras House I.1 (LM IA): overview and capacity measures
Maria Emanuela Alberti
- 255 Miniature vessels from Petras
Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw
- 265 Literacy at Petras and three hitherto unpublished Linear A inscriptions
Erik Hallager
- 277 Death in Petras: two men fighting on a LM IA lentoid seal
David W. Rupp
- 291 The Petras intramural infant jar burial: context, symbolism, eschatology
Photini J.P. McGeorge
- 305 Priestess? at work: a LM IA chlorite schist lentoid seal from the Neopalatial settlement of Petras
David W. Rupp & Metaxia Tsipopoulou

V. The Byzantine cemetery

- 315 Pottery of the Middle Byzantine period and the first centuries of the Venetian occupation from Petras, Siteia
Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou

VI. The Siteia Bay area

- 327 Papadiokampos and the Siteia Bay in the second millennium BC: exploring patterns of regional hierarchy and exchange in eastern Crete
Chrysa Sofianou & Thomas M. Brogan

VII. www.petras-excavations.gr

- 341 The website www.petras-excavations.gr
Konstantinos Togias

- 347 **VIII. Final discussion**
chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

IX. Concluding remarks

- 355 Petras in context: localism, regionalism, internationalism
Peter M. Warren
- 361 Index

Preface

Βίος άνεόρταστος, μακρά όδός άπανδόχεντος.
Demokritos (470–370 BC)

It is indeed hard and dull to lead a life, both personal and professional, without celebrations, anniversaries, gatherings of friends and colleagues, symposia of any type. The 25th anniversary of the Petras excavations offered a wonderful opportunity for me to organize a Symposium, and for an international group of scholars, known for many things, including being members of the Petras team, to work hard, and then gather in Athens and present the results of their studies.

It was an exciting experience organizing and conducting this two-day Conference, and also editing the Proceedings and preparing the present book. I was very happy to be able to work during the multiple tasks of the preparation, the coordination of the contributors, the two days of the event itself, the collection of the papers and the editing of the present volume, with two hard working, creative, and very patient colleagues, Ms Garifalia Kostopoulou and Dr Maria Psallida. They are responsible before the event for the invitations, the preparation of the catering, the reservation of the restaurant for the speakers' dinner, and the printed material of the Conference. During the Symposium they made sure that everything went smoothly. After the Conference they worked for many months to do the pagination, the bibliography and the list of contributors, and they helped significantly with the proof reading and the index (Psallida), and the plates and the cover design (Kostopoulou). The editing of the volume was a very interesting task for me, and having no day job at the Ministry after the end of November 2011, a victim of the crisis that struck Greece, I was able to dedicate myself entirely to it. Furthermore, I am responsible for the transcription of the discussions, an interesting first-time experience. Many thanks go to David Rupp who patiently corrected all the English manuscripts of the 11 non-native speakers, as well as the dis-

cussions. Also my warmest thanks to Melissa Eaby for the final proof reading and significant improvements. The specialized text of Konstantinos Togiias, the developer of the Petras website, was translated from Greek by Ms Effie Patsatzi, Museologist, a specialist in the Management of Digital Heritage.

Dr Erik Hallager is responsible for the final pagination and the insertion of the figures into the text.

I wish also to thank the creators of the four posters presented at the Conference: two posters, one of which was in collaboration with the director of the excavation, were by Ms Clio Zervaki, the Petras Conservator, MA in Museology and MA in Cultural Management, and another two were by Garifalia Kostopoulou.

The Danish Institute at Athens, and its two consecutive Directors, Erik Hallager, a dear old friend and member of the Petras team, and Rune Frederiksen, have my gratitude for hosting the Symposium and for including the publication in the series of monographs of the Institute.

The Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), which has been supporting the excavations at Petras, the conservation of the finds and the studies since 1987, also funded the Symposium and the publication of the present volume. My deep gratitude goes to INSTAP and its Executive Director, Philip Betancourt, also a good friend and member of the Petras team.

The success of the Symposium, which was really a wonderful and very stimulating experience, is due to all the participants, the speakers, and the chairpersons. More than 100 colleagues, Greeks and foreigners, from the Hellenic Archaeological Service, the Universities and the Foreign Schools of Archaeology in Greece, including senior members and graduate students, were present at the Danish Institute, and were very active during the discussions. They contributed to the creation of a very

friendly and positive atmosphere throughout the Symposium. A very special thanks goes to the chairpersons, Philip Betancourt, Michael Wedde, David Rupp, Erik Hallager, Colin Macdonald, Lefteris Platon, Thomas Brogan, Olga Krzyszkowska and Alexander MacGillivray. I am very grateful to Peter Warren, my mentor, who enthusiastically agreed to write the concluding remarks for this volume.

Three generations of scholars participated at the Symposium, some of the younger ones had come to Petras as undergraduate or graduate students, long ago. Their names in the order they presented their papers are: Yiannis Papadatos, Eleni Nodarou, Tatiana Theodoropoulou, Cesare D'Annibale, Philip P. Betancourt, Susan C. Ferrence, James D. Muhly, Olga Krzyszkowska, Sevasti Triantaphyllou, Heidi M.C. Dierckx, Donald C. Haggis, Maria Emanuela

Alberti, Kostis S. Christakis, Nektaria Mavroudi, Erik Hallager, David W. Rupp, Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw, Photini J.P. McGeorge, Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, Chrysa Sofianou, Thomas M. Brogan and Konstantinos Toggias.

The 25 years of the Petras excavations and studies coincided with a period of crisis for Greece that worsened significantly between October 2010, the time of the Symposium, and spring 2012, the time these lines are written. From the beginning my idea for the organization of this event and its publication was an idea of resistance to the crisis. I am very happy that we succeeded and very grateful to all who worked hard and made this success happen.

Athens, Exarcheia, Easter 2012
Metaxia Tsipopoulou

Abbreviations

Archaeological periods

EBA	Early Bronze Age
EH	Early Helladic
EM	Early Minoan
FN	Final Neolithic
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
LN	Late Neolithic
LBA	Late Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MH	Middle Helladic
MM	Middle Minoan
MN	Middle Neolithic
PPN	Pre-Pottery Neolithic

Petras Area

HT	House Tomb
L	Lakkos
P	Petras

P.TSK	Petras cemetery
P.TSU	Petras-Rock Shelter
Σ-palace	Stratigraphical trenches of the palace

Other

A.S.L.	Above Sea Level
diam.	diameter
gr	gram
h	height
kg	kilogram
w	width
wt	weight
th	thickness
lt	liter
NISP	Number of Identifiable Specimens
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
SM	Archaeological Museum, Siteia
vol.	volume

The form of the English language for the native speakers (British or American) was the author's choice. For the non-native speakers the American form was applied.



Neolithic and Minoan marine exploitation at Petras: diachronic trends and cultural shifts*

Tatiana Theodoropoulou

Abstract

The marine world has always fascinated people living at the edge of landscapes in close connection to the sea, such the island of Crete. Numerous are the examples of the influence of the marine element in the everyday life and artistic or symbolic expressions of the prehistoric populations of Crete. These latter are evident in both Neolithic and Minoan contexts, yet it is rare to find continuity in the behavior of the inhabitants of one region. The extensive excavations at the Neolithic settlement of Kephala and the Minoan palace at Petras provide one such marine record. Numerous marine animal remains, found at both Kephala and the Minoan palace, offer a unique opportunity for a detailed insight into marine animal utilisation in two different cultural and social contexts. This paper aims to explore the possible uses of fish and molluscs within the Neolithic settlement and the Minoan palace and to reveal the common trends and differential perceptions of the fruits of the sea by two distinct human groups.

Introduction

The marine world has always fascinated people living at the fringe of landscapes in close proximity to the sea, such the island of Crete. Numerous are the examples of the influence of the marine element in the everyday life and artistic expressions of the prehistoric populations of Crete. Among various strands of evidence, the presence of marine animal remains in an increasing number of archaeological contexts from the island confirms what Vickery was one of the first scholars to pinpoint, as early as 1936, that fish and shellfish formed part of the diet and everyday life of Aegean populations.¹

The lengthy excavations at the Neolithic settlement of Kephala and the Minoan palace at Petras provide one such marine record. Beyond the obvious interesting information on the exploitation of marine fauna that these remains may provide, the importance of these two marine assemblages lies in the fact that they offer a unique opportunity for a detailed insight into marine animal utilisation in

two different sociocultural contexts situated in the same environment. In this respect, this paper does not intend to cover detailed aspects of exploitation within either the Neolithic settlement or the Minoan palace. It rather aims to explore the relationship of the Neolithic and Minoan populations of Petras to the sea as a whole and to draw upon

* I would like to thank Dr Metaxia Tsipopoulou and Dr Yiannis Papadatos for entrusting me the study of the marine remains from Petras. My work at INSTAP was rendered easier and, above all, more pleasant thanks to the help and company of Garifalia Kostopoulou and Clio Zervaki. My thanks also to Dr Eleni Nodarou for providing help with geomorphological data for the region. The study was funded by INSTAP.

¹ Vickery 1936, 74: "The modern Cretans are fond of octopods and eat a great many of them. Neither do they fail to utilize squid, shellfish and vertebrate fish. What was the practice of their predecessors on the islands and elsewhere in the Aegean in the New Stone Age and in the various periods of the Bronze Age? Formerly, a ready partial answer was forthcoming: the Greeks rarely, if ever, ate fish. But more recent study of the remains of the homes and settlements of the early peoples has compelled a revision of this answer."

Table 1. Shell species representation at Kephala and Minoan Petras (NISP, MNI, %MNI).

Family	Species	Common name	Neolithic Petras*			Minoan Petras**		
			NISP	MNI	%MNI	NISP	MNI	%MNI
Patellidae	<i>Patella caerulea</i> , <i>P. ulyssiponensis</i> , <i>P. rustica</i>	Limpets	1111	937	78,9	636	585	50,4
Muricidae	<i>Hexaplex trunculus</i> , <i>Bolinus brandaris</i> , <i>Thais haemastoma</i>	Purple shells	10	8	0,7	1308	770	38,3
Trochidae	<i>Monodonta turbinata</i> , <i>Gibbula</i> sp.	Topshells	451	148	12,5	35	28	3,1
Cymatiidae	<i>Charonia tritonis</i>	Triton shells	48	13	1,1	60	15	1,8
Cardiidae**	<i>Cerastoderma glaucum</i> , <i>Acanthocardia tuberculata</i>	Cockles	17	16	1,3	11	7	1,8
Ostreidae**	<i>Ostrea edulis</i> , <i>Crassostrea gigas</i>	Oysters	24	6	0,5	55	28	1,0
Glycymeridae	<i>Glycymeris bimaculata</i> , <i>Glycymeris</i> sp.	Dog cockles	28	24	2,0	4	4	0,5
Buccinidae	<i>Buccinum corneum</i> , <i>Pisania striata</i>	Whelks	1	1	0,1	48	48	0,5
Spondylidae	<i>Spondylus gaederopus</i>	Spiny oysters	11	7	0,6	4	4	0,3
Cassidae	<i>Cassidaria</i> sp., <i>Phalium granulatum</i> , <i>Phalium saburon</i>	Helmet shells	1	1	0,1	8	7	0,5
Cypraeidae	<i>Luria lurida</i>	Cowries	3	3	0,3	4	4	0,3
Cerithiidae	<i>Cerithium vulgatum</i>	Horn shells	3	3	0,3	3	3	0,2
Arcidae	<i>Arca noae</i>	Ark shells	18	11	0,9	1	1	0,1
Pectinidae	<i>Chlamys varia</i> , <i>Aequipecten opercularis</i>	Scallops	3	3	0,3	5	4	0,3
Donacidae	<i>Donax trunculus</i> , <i>Donax semistriatus</i>	Wedge shells				4	3	0,2
Pinnidae	<i>Pinna nobilis</i>	Fan shells	2	2	0,2	1	1	0,1
Limidae	<i>Lima lima</i>	File shells	1	1	0,1			
Conidae	<i>Conus mediterraneus</i>	Cone shells	1	1	0,1			
Veneridae	<i>Chamelea gallina</i>	Carpet shells	1	1	0,1			
Mytilidae	<i>Mytilus galloprovincialis</i>	Mussels				11	5	0,3
Vermetidae	<i>Vermetus</i> sp.	Worm shells				1	1	0,1
Turbinidae	<i>Astrea rugosa</i>	Turban shells				1	1	0,1
Columbellidae	<i>Columbella rustica</i>	Dove shells				1	1	0,1
Tonnidae	<i>Tonna galea</i>	Barrel shells				1	1	0,1
Decapoda	Ind.	Crabs	2	2	0,2	4	4	0,3
Nephropidae	Ind.	Lobsters				1	1	0,1
Echinidae	Ind.	Sea-urchins				1	1	0,1
Sepiidae	<i>Sepia officinalis</i>	Cuttlefish				1	1	0,1
Sparidae	<i>Sparus aurata</i>	Gilthead breams				7	1	0,1
Total marine remains			1737	1188	100%	2216	1529	100%

conventional names for Kephala Petras and the area of the Minoan occupation*
fossil specimens not included in counts**

potential converging trends regarding marine resources and the perception of the marine element by two different communities installed in the same coastal environment.

Living by the sea in Neolithic and Minoan Petras

To understand cultural behavior related to a specific environment, the nature and boundaries of this en-

vironment need to be defined. Both Neolithic and Minoan Petras are situated on low coastal hills, in close proximity to the shore, and have visual contact with the Siteia Bay.² Geological evidence indicates that, at least during the Minoan period, the sea extended far into the present day valley west and southwest of Hill I at Petras, and the coastline lay at the base of the foothills, about 2 km to the

² Tsiropoulou this volume, Introduction, Fig. 10a and 10b.

south of the modern coastal front.³ A small protected bay was formed between Hills I and II. Pandelis River lay at the deepest reaches of the bay.⁴

Although detailed information on the types of shores surrounding the Petras Hills is not available for the studied periods, the described environmental background as a whole would provide a potentially favourable setting for a coastal community to efficiently exploit marine resources.

Shells and some methodological considerations

Although fishing for fish and shellfish may seem like the natural choice for communities living by the sea, it is not a straightforward one. Marine animal remains from Neolithic and Minoan Petras offer the possibility of testing this scenario on two different coastal communities. The Neolithic settlement of Kephala and the Minoan palace produced marine faunal assemblages, both of which were studied by the author. Although neither assemblage can be considered abundant, especially when considering the time span of use at both sites, they still offer a significant sample to work with. Kephala Petras yielded 1,739 shell remains, while the shell material from the palace of Petras includes 2,216 marine remains (invertebrates and fish).⁵

Although this is not a detailed study report on the marine faunal remains from these sites, a few methodological points need to be cleared up. Both materials underwent the same zooarchaeological analysis, consisting of species identification, quantification and recording of primary data, environmental reconstruction and zooarchaeological interpretations. The study of fishbones and shells from archaeological contexts may contribute to the reconstruction of ancient coastal environments and help define specific coastal or marine zones of ancient human gathering, as well as provide information on the collecting methods and equipment involved. These aspects of marine exploitation become even more interesting when comparisons between two communities that shared the same areas at different periods of time can be conducted. With respect to the latter, counts and estimates are

given in minimum numbers of individuals (MNI).⁶ This type of count, closer to the original number of animals used at a site, was preferred against NISP (number of identifiable specimens), so as to set a common ground for inter-site comparisons (Table 1).⁷

Reconstructing Neolithic and Minoan shellfish exploitation

Primary analysis and environmental reconstruction of the Petras marine assemblages offer the possibility of shedding light on different periods of coastal exploitation in the Siteia Bay. Species identification and relative frequencies of *taxa* reveal common features as well as several differences between the two sites.

Both assemblages share a common core group of *taxa*, even if significant differences in the frequencies of species can be observed from one period to another (Fig. 1, Table 1). This group comprises limpets, murex shells, top shells and tritons, and occasionally oysters, dog cockles and cockles, whelks, spiny oysters, cowries, horns and crabs. On the other hand, there are certain shellfish solely present either in the Kephala (arks, scallops, fan shells, helmets, file shells, cone shells and carpet clams) or in the Minoan material (mussels, worm shells, wedge shells, turbans, dove shells and barrel shells, as well as a lobster fragment). Although the respective numbers of these species are too low to allow any secure interpretation of this diverging pattern, an overall evaluation of the shellfish material puts forward two distinct exploitation patterns.

The identification of marine remains from Kephala

³ At least 5 m lower from the base of the wall to the west, as well as very close to the villa of Klimataria to the east (Tsipopoulou 1991a; Tsipopoulou 2003).

⁴ Tsipopoulou 2003.

⁵ The Minoan palace also produced a number of fossil oysters and cockles. Their presence within the Miocene marly limestones of the region (according to the 1959 geological map issued by the Institute for Geology and Subsurface Research) would point to a non-cultural presence. We thus decided not to include them in the counts. See also n. 27.

⁶ Reitz & Wing 1999, 191–9; Claassen 1998, 106–7.

⁷ Peres 2010.

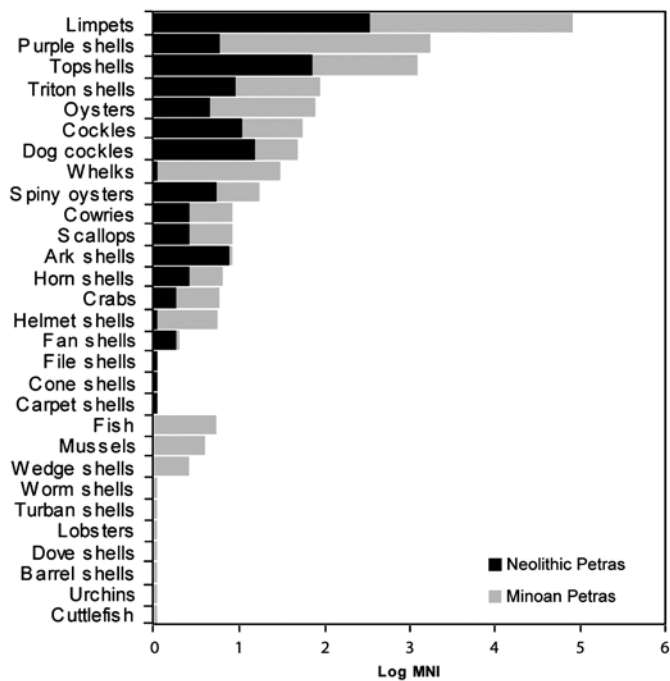


Fig. 1. Shell species representation at Kephala and Minoan Petras (log MNI).

Petras revealed quite a focused pattern of collection. Limpets are the prevailing species in the Neolithic settlement, accounting for nearly 80% of the collected shellfish (MNI). They are accompanied by a fair number of topshells (14%). A few other species are present in limited numbers, such as dog cockles, tritons, ark shells and murex shells. A different situation

is observed in the Minoan material. Although limpets are still collected, their numbers decrease (38%) in favour of murex shells (50%), while top shells and other shellfish are only occasionally present (Fig. 2). Despite these differences, both sites show a similar pattern of exploitation of a relatively rich but not quite diversified spectrum.⁸ In other words, it may be suggested that Neolithic Petras exhibits quite a specialised strategy towards coastal resources. This is an expected pattern in coastal sites, where a wide range of *taxa* are present, yet only few substantially contribute to the diet.⁹ Although this tendency is maintained in subsequent Minoan occupation, the focus of collection is rather divided into two major resources, limpets and murex, with a range of other minor species present.

In light of these two diverging situations regarding shell and fish exploitation by the two coastal communities, the question of differential behavior towards marine resources needs to be addressed both on an environmental and a cultural level.

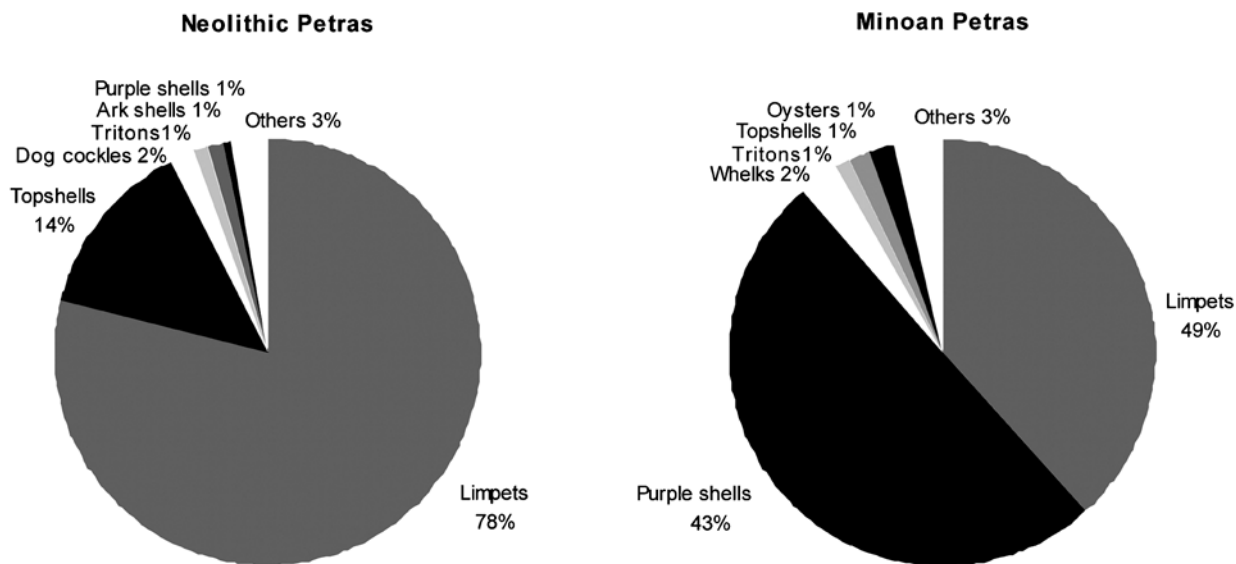


Fig. 2. Relative frequencies of marine fauna at Kephala and Minoan Petras (%MNI).

⁸ These terms, borrowed from biology, are used in zooarchaeology to describe the composition of an assemblage. Taxonomic richness is the number of taxa in an assemblage, while diversity refers to the relative importance of the species present (number of individuals of the identified taxa); Reitz & Wing 1999, 233–4; Claassen 1998, 117–20; Peres 2010.

⁹ Reitz & Wing 1999, 234.



Fig. 3. Exploitation of marine substrates at Kephala and Minoan Petras.

Changing environments, changing strategies

The change observed from the Late Neolithic/EM I to the MM II/LM IIIB material is principally illustrated by the shift from one almost ubiquitous species, namely limpets, to a more evenly distributed collection of limpets and murex shells, accentuated by the presence of two other groups of shells occasionally present in either the one or the other assemblage. The nature of the two major species as well as any possible relation between them, thus needs to be explored.

Limpets are a common conical gastropod found attached to rocky shores or other hard substrates, usually in colonies.¹⁰ They may share the same habitat with top shells and other species tolerant of periods of exposure to the air. Murex shells, on the other hand, are larger, spined gastropods that live in the intertidal or shallow subtidal zone, among rocks, corals, or detritic substrates.¹¹ The description of the environmental parameters of the prevailing species that form the bulk of the material in the archaeozoological assemblages of Petras highlights the exploitation of two different marine zones at two different periods: a collection on the upper levels of rocky shores at Kephala, and a more diversified collection in either rocky or mixed substrates from the intertidal zone to deeper waters at Minoan Petras (Figs. 3, 4). Furthermore, the contribution of sandy-muddy environments, somewhat important during the Kephala occupation, becomes almost negligible in the Minoan assemblage.

The environmental profile provided by represented marine organisms needs to be viewed in a foraging perspective with regard to both Late Neolithic and Middle/Late Minoan communities of the Petras Hills. In general, it is accepted that archaeo-

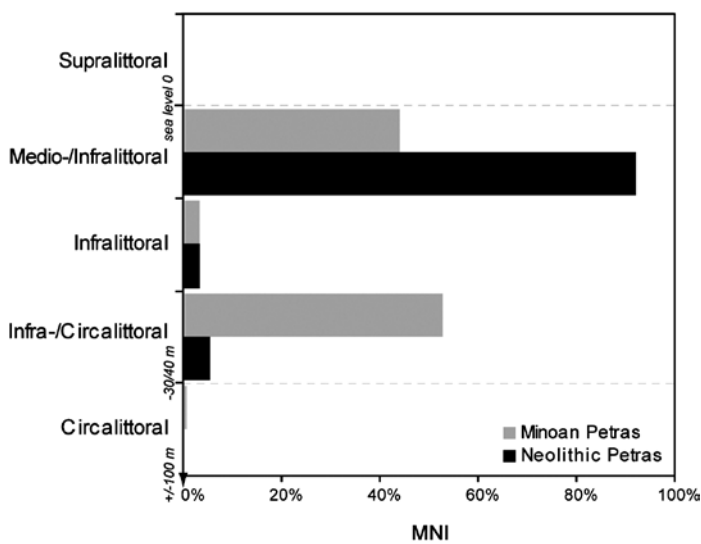


Fig. 4. Exploitation of marine depths at Kephala and Minoan Petras.

¹⁰ Fischer *et al.* 1987, 608–11. The term *colony* in biology refers to several individual organisms of the same species living closely together.

¹¹ Fischer *et al.* 1987, 588.



	Neolithic	Minoan
MNI	865	395
Min (mm)	9,5	10,0
Max	50	52,0
AVER (mm)	23,8	31,4
STDEV	6,5	8,0

Fig. 5. Typical limpet hip and shell size measurements (expressed in mm) for Kephala and Minoan Petras.

logical shell remains are the result of what has been chosen and collected by humans. In this respect, they primarily reflect a human choice among other potentially available resources. On the other hand, human choices can be driven by environmental conditions, such as availability and abundance. In the following section, both cultural and environmental factors affecting the change in species composition in the two Petras materials are considered.

Change in species representation in archaeomalacology may in fact be related to either environmental or cultural reasons. Environmental pressure, namely sudden changes of environmental or climatic nature, concurrence between species, and extensive human foraging in the upper and more easily reached levels of the shore feature among most common reasons for changes of species representation through time. The impact of coastal foraging is often related to the decrease or depletion of natural stocks of marine organisms or even the reduction or extinction of the larger age classes.¹²

Based solely on quantitative criteria from both sites, it is not possible to speak in favour of large-scale shellfish exploitation capable of bringing about

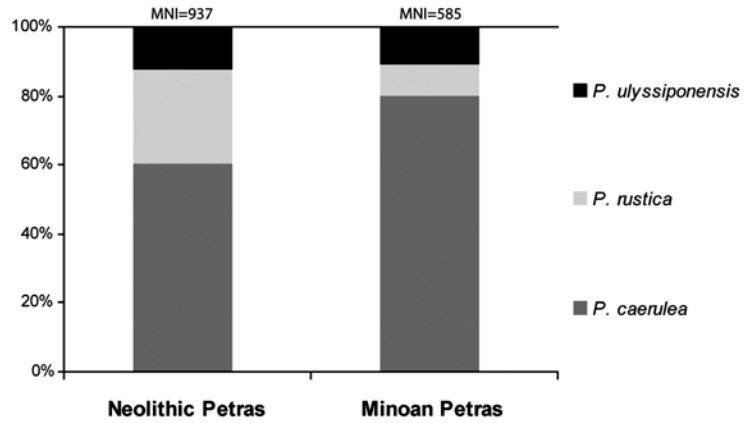


Fig. 6. Relative frequencies (%MNI) of limpets in Kephala and Minoan Petras.

significant changes to the coastal environment near Petras. On the other hand, information on possible environmentally-derived coastal changes at the period of time between the Kephala settlement and the Minoan occupation is lacking. However, such a scenario might be reflected in shells from archaeological contexts. It was thus decided to test the hypothesis of a change in species representation in these two assemblages due to depletion of limpet populations. Measurements of limpet length were taken on complete shells of limpets using an electronic vernier calliper (>0.1 mm, Fig. 5). It was possible to measure 865 and 395 specimens from Kephala and Minoan Petras, respectively.¹³ The average lengths and standard deviations of the two samples have been calculated in order to provide a reliable comparison between the two sites. The results not only negate the hypothesis of size reduction from the older to the more recent assemblage, but they suggest a slight increase in average limpet length from the Late Neolithic to the MM/LM periods. On the other hand, it is interesting to note a more generalised pattern of collection at Kephala, with a preference for rather small individuals (around 2 cm long). This observation correlates well with the pattern of a more intensive collection of one type of shellfish. The latter is further

¹² Mannino & Thomas 2002; Milner *et al.* 2007.

¹³ For the purposes of this study, it was decided to include all three limpet species, since they share common habitats.

supported by the relative frequencies of the three limpet species present in both sites, *Patella caerulea*, *P. rustica* and *P. ulysiponensis* (Fig. 6). Although the common limpet (*P. caerulea*) is the dominant species in both assemblages (60% and 89% MNI, respectively), the two other species are better represented in the Kephala material (28% for *P. rustica* and 13% for *P. ulysiponensis*) than at Minoan Petras, possibly indicating an omni-harvesting strategy in the first case compared to a more selective choice (one species, larger individuals) in later times. However, there is also the possibility that shellfish were being gathered from different areas of the shoreline during the FM/EM and MM/LM periods. More detailed geological data may allow for refinement of the reconstructed image of the ancient shoreline in the Siteia Bay.

The scenario suggesting two different collection grounds may be supported by the general increase of a more mixed, less rocky environment. However, available archaeomalacological or geological data do not offer any clear answer as to whether this shift occurred following a gradual environmental change in the Petras Bay or whether different marine environments were selected on the basis of what shellfish were desired. It is possible that the coastal environment surrounding the Petras Hills underwent some change in the time between the FN/EM and the MM/LM occupations, through either sea-level fluctuations or geomorphological changes related to the flow of the Pandelis River. In either case, the collectors would have adjusted their collecting strategies and methods to the newly exploited resources. Alternatively, the introduction of different tools and new methods of collection as a determining factor for exploited grounds should also be considered. The ethological behavior of rock-dwelling limpets allows for easier location and collection with simple procurement methods and tools, either by hand or with a sharp instrument (a knife or a stick picked up on the beach) for detaching the animal from the hard surface. On the other hand, epifaunal carnivore molluscs living in deeper waters,¹⁴ such as murex shells, may require more elaborate methods of collection.¹⁵ This observation also points to a deliberate effort to collect this mollusc



Fig. 7. Typical food waste assemblage from Kephala (limpets and top shells).

despite a higher level of difficulty in acquiring it. In order to explain why this and other shellfish were collected by these two coastal communities, it is necessary to consider their uses.

Using shells at Neolithic and Minoan Petras

Shellfish have been used by the Aegean populations both as a food resource and as a raw material (both hard and soft tissue) for a variety of objects and substances. One basic distinction to be made is between food and non-food uses. Both assemblages from Petras offer evidence for the consumption of shellfish as well as for the use of their hard shell for other purposes. These various uses thus need to be presented.

Shellfish constituted a food resource for both Petras communities (Fig. 7). The marine diet of the Kephala inhabitants consisted chiefly of limpets and top shells, occasionally diversified by cockles and dog cockles, arks, spiny oysters, oysters and murex shells, rarely by fan shells, clams, file shells, tritons, horns and crabs. Minoan in-

¹⁴ Epifaunal organisms live, either fixed or mobile, on the surface of the hard substrate.

¹⁵ Ruscillo 2005.

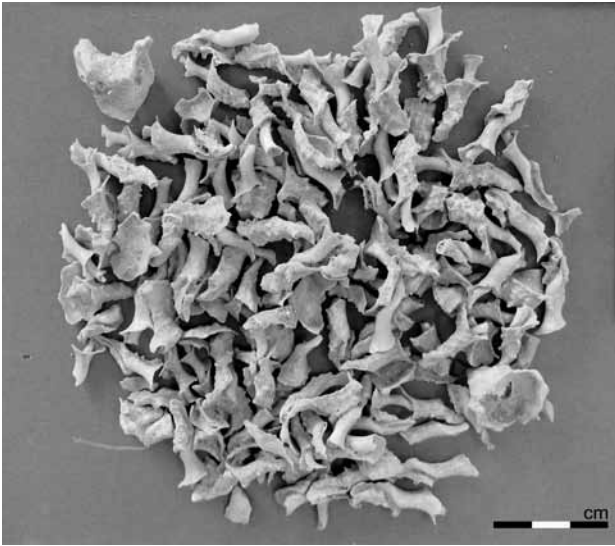


Fig. 8. Murex hip from Sector III in Minoan Petras.

habitants maintained a taste for limpets, although they also turned to the consumption of murex and whelks, and rarely top shells, crabs and lobsters. The question of fish consumption also needs to be addressed. Although soil sampling and dry sieving (Minoan) or water flotation (Kephala) was conducted on both digs, only the Minoan site produced six severely burnt caudal vertebrae and one cranial bone of a gilthead seabream (*Sparus aurata*).¹⁶ The relative absence of fish from the Petras sites is striking, especially in light of the abundant fish assemblages from other sites on Crete.¹⁷ Although soil acidity might be in part responsible for this lack, cultural aspects related to taste, consumption or food waste management need to be studied in detail for every site. Turning to shellfish, their consumption usually did not require any preparation or cooking at either site. Most *taxa* can be eaten raw by simply detaching the shell from its surface and extracting the animal from its shell, or by crushing the shell of the mollusc. Traces of tool use and crushing are left on several specimens from both sites, including limpets, top shells and horn shells. The cooking of molluscs, crabs and lobsters is also possible, but it is extremely difficult to distinguish such procedures on archaeological specimens. Several burnt invertebrate fragments have been found in both assemblages, especially the palace and settlement area, however their pres-

ence must be related to post-consumption contact with fire, as they all exhibit traces of heavy burning, which would have rendered the flesh of the molluscs inedible.¹⁸ The detailed contextual study of shell samples from Kephala and Minoan Petras may reveal specific areas related to shell preparation, storage and consumption. Preliminary observations point to a rather scattered distribution of shell remains, with a few exceptions, such as the presence of a concentration of murex shells in the area of the Minoan occupation.

The latter observation brings the discussion to the use of this mollusc for purple-dye production during the palace period of Petras. Although murex fragments have been found scattered in all areas of the Minoan occupation, including the palace, houses and other areas, one substantial deposit came from the so-called Lakkos in Sector III, to the west of House I.1, which contained several fragments of *Hexaplex trunculus* attributed to more than 120 individuals (Fig. 8). These concentrations were recovered from the fill of a sizable dump that contained large quantities of fine-quality tableware, nearly 60 loom weights, stone tools and several ritual objects.¹⁹ The archaeological debris from the Lakkos has been associated with MM IB–IIA cultural material used in elite buildings on the upper plateau that were destroyed during the modification of the hill to accommodate the palace. An industrial installation has been identified in the same sector, dated to the EM II–III period.²⁰ If this murex concentration from Minoan Petras represents

¹⁶ Three *Sparus* bones have also been identified in the hieroglyphic archive of Petras (Mylona 2010). Rose (1994, 344) notes the presence of one caudal vertebra of a fairly large barracuda (*Sphyaena sphyraena*), reported by David Reese.

¹⁷ Several examples in Rose 1994 and Mylona 2003.

¹⁸ Theodoropoulou 2007a.

¹⁹ Tsipopoulou 2001; Haggis 2007.

²⁰ House II.1 at Petras is also associated with cloth production, as it preserves some of the best evidence for this activity in eastern Crete, including tools, installations and inscriptions associated with the textile industry (Burke 2006). However, there are no significant murex shell concentrations suggesting purple-dye production in this house. It is possible that this would have been an unpleasant, and thus unwanted activity, for the owners of the house staying on the first storey, as production of purple usually releases a strong pungent smell (Ruscillo 2005).

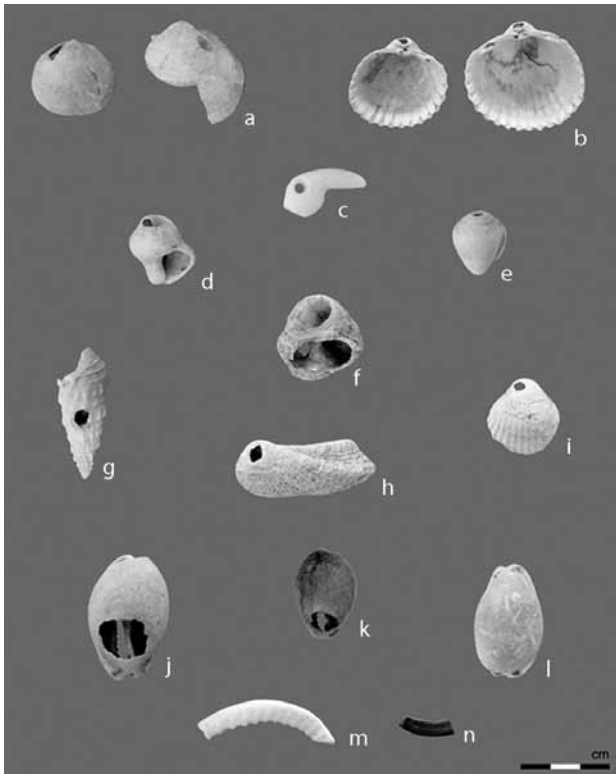


Fig. 9. Shell ornaments from Kephala (a, b, c, d, e, i, j, l, m, n) and Minoan Petras (f, g, h, k).

purple dye production debris, it would support the hypothesis that purple-dyeing was concentrated at palatial centers, further suggested by the study of marks and stamps on the loom weights from this deposit.²¹ However, the preserved quantities are far from the numbers, as suggested by Spanier and Karmon (1987), needed for an industrial-scale production, although a few hundred individuals would suffice to produce a fine colour on light garments.²² If, on the other hand, this murex deposit represents food debris, it would be interesting to define its association with the high-quality tableware and ritual vessels found in the Lakkos and the role of murex in elite feasting.²³

The role of shells in ritual and other symbolic acts, as well as in everyday life, is to be seen on a number of specimens from both sites. It seems that marine animals played an important role in the aesthetics and symbolic sphere of both communities. Several shells with holes, either naturally occurring or deliberately pierced, are found both in the Kephala and the Minoan material (Fig. 9). The study of the

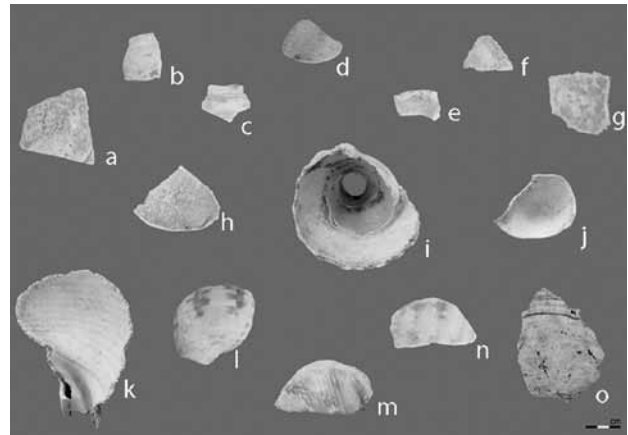


Fig. 10. Triton shell fragments from Kephala (i, j, k, m) and Minoan Petras (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, l, n, o).

holes and the state of preservation of the shells suggest that people from the Neolithic settlement and the later Minoan occupation acted in a similar way, either collecting worn shells of simple shapes on the shore to wear as ornaments (cockles, dog cockles, cone shells, dove shells) or intentionally transforming shells into objects of adornment (cockles, dog cockles, horn shells, turban shells, helmet shells). A higher degree of elaboration may be found in the Neolithic settlement, which has produced a number of singular items, including pendants and other possible objects of adornment, comparable to similar Neolithic objects from the Aegean.²⁴ Several other shell specimens occur at both sites either in an unmodified or in a modified state, yet their use remains unclear. This is, for instance, the case of whole or fragmented cowries found at Kephala and at the Minoan site. Their association to female fer-

²¹ Tsipopoulou 1990b; Burke 2006. Purple-dye production in Crete has been identified during the MM IB period (Ruscillo 2005; 2006) and purple, as well as possibly female purple dyers, are also mentioned in the Knossos tablets (*po-pu-ro₂*, *po-pu-re-ja*, Palmer 1963, 292, 297, 447). It is suggested that the production may have begun even in the third millennium BC (Bruin 1970).

²² Ruscillo 2005.

²³ According to Haggis 2007. The same author notes that other faunal remains (animal bones) are found scattered throughout the assemblage but not in amounts suggesting a concentration of food debris or discard.

²⁴ For example, Vialou 1974; 1981, pl. L; Jacobsen 1973, pl. 48d.

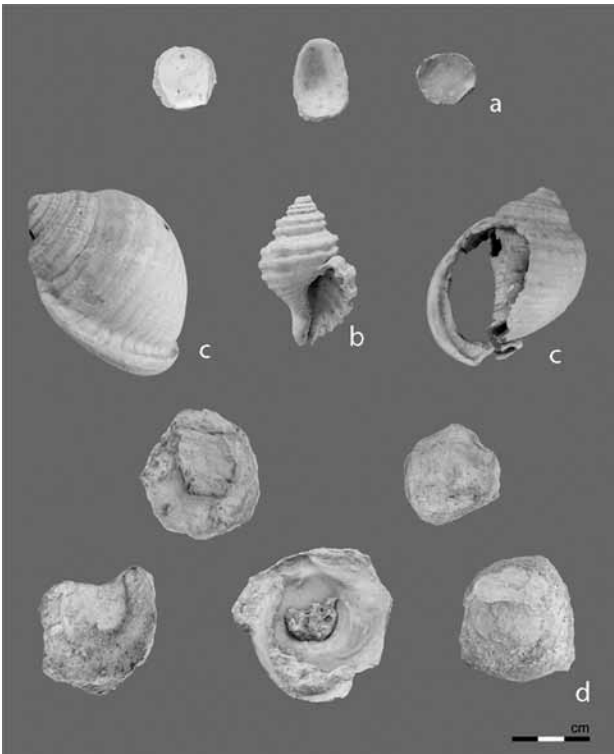


Fig. 11. Various shells from Kephala (a, b, c) and Minoan Petras (d).

tility in various cultures around the world raises the question of the symbolic use of shells in Neolithic and Minoan Petras.²⁵

Distinguishing the function of shells, whether practical or more symbolic or ritual is not always straightforward. The case of triton shells from the Petras excavations is worth mentioning. A range of modified triton fragments has been recovered from Kephala (Fig. 10). The shape of these fragments resembles a spool, cup or other receptacle.²⁶ Neolithic Petras also provides one of the oldest Cretan modified examples of hollow tritons, often interpreted as drinking cups.²⁷ However, it is not clear whether these modified fragments or the hollow triton fulfilled a secular or a ritual need. Intentionally fragmented triton shells, such as those found in Neolithic Petras, seem to survive in the Minoan occupation, but their presence in the Minoan period is generalized and covers a number of new uses as well, such as scrapers or polishers. On the contrary, although hollow tritons are found in Minoan contexts, the Minoan levels of Petras did not yield any such example. However, other large gastro-

pod shells might have fulfilled similar uses, such as the helmet shells from Kephala and Minoan Petras (both with stringing holes, Fig. 11:c), as well as the modified limpets (Fig. 11:a) from the Neolithic site or even some of the numerous fossil oysters (Fig. 11:d) found at Minoan Petras.²⁸

In any case, the boundaries between practical and symbolic are difficult to draw. More refined contextual analysis may shed light on the various uses and meanings of shells in the Petras sites.

Summary and conclusions

The Petras excavations offer a unique opportunity for a comparative approach to marine acquisition behavior towards marine environments by two chronologically distinct yet geographically identical sites. Moreover, the material from the two sites covers a unique time span for the Cretan record, shedding light on well-documented, as well as on less known, cultural horizons.

The preliminary study of these two marine assemblages highlighted various cultural responses towards the adjacent marine environment and revealed divergent choices regarding the same type of resources. As a whole, the Neolithic occupants developed a more focused collection of limpets on the upper levels of the shore, possibly with more rudimentary tools and less time involved. Although later Minoan inhabitants maintained a taste for the main molluscan resource, they turned to other resources as well, and expanded collection to deeper waters, possibly enabled by technological advances. This diverging pattern may be in part related to the differential use of marine resources by the two coastal communities, namely an intensive collec-

²⁵ Germain 1924; Fischer 1949; Becker 1996; Claassen 1998, 20.

²⁶ Some examples in Karali 1999, 95.

²⁷ Baurain & Darcque 1983; Åström & Reese 1990.

²⁸ Karali 1999, 20; Theodoropoulou 2007b, 529–30. With regard to fossil oysters, their presence within the Miocene marly limestones of the region would point to a non-cultural presence (see n. 4). However, some of the specimens seem to be roughly cut.

tion for consumption during the Kephala period versus more occasional food exploitation of molluscs during the Minoan one. The use of marine shell as raw material is also well exemplified at both sites, in similar ways but also with quite a few differences. Shells are used in both periods as ornaments or receptacles of some sort, using a range of techniques, occasionally very elaborate in the Kephala collection, while somewhat simpler in the Minoan specimens, and often making use of the natural shapes and breakages. Although common shapes and utilitarian uses are to be found at both sites, a few singular pieces from Kephala remind one of similar examples from the Neolithic Aegean. Finally, the possibility of purple-dye pro-

duction within the limits of the Minoan palace of Petras needs to be further explored in conjunction with other strands of evidence, such as relevant installations and related material culture.

Future research will focus on spatial distributions within each context and a more refined contextual approach bringing together various archaeological and bioarchaeological evidence. The coastal character of these two communities living at the coastal fringe needs to be viewed both in light of the cultural spheres they represent and the environmental background they make use of. In this respect, any common responses as well as different interactions with the sea, are extremely useful for a better understanding of communities living by the sea.

Discussion

Haggis That was very nice, a brilliant contrast. An issue of wider interest. If we were to reconstruct an inland environment as opposed to an estuary, I wonder whether these were also a technical selection decision in the Minoan period.

Theodoropoulou I have not identified any brackish species, which might have been indicative of an estuary environment, but still mixed substrates can also be found in this type of environment. So, yes.

Haggis My other question is about the food consumption, the boiling and all, is there an indication on the surface of the shells?

Theodoropoulou No, it does not leave remains.

Rupp Metaxia knows about the coring that was done in what once was an estuary. If you go to the Richardson plot, where the two Mycenaean type walls were excavated, toward the west, there was a beach there. There is clear evidence from that excavation of the beach level there. I think it went up to reach, what was the level?

Tsipopoulou The Minoan sea level was proved to be 4 m higher than the present one.

Theodoropoulou So this is evidence about the ancient seashore.

Rupp So that your reconstruction was rather timid, only what would have been possibly in the last phase.

Theodoropoulou Thank you.

Betancourt Is there a direct indication about murex exploitation?

Theodoropoulou I deliberately choose not to include this in my presentation because the remains of purple shells, although they are crushed and they might have been used for purple, were not concentrated in one place, and also it is difficult to imagine how they would have proceeded in this activity within a habitation area, not to mention the palace, because we all know that this exploitation is very smelly. They usually would want to do this close to the water and out of the settlement.

Muhly It seems to me that what your evidence indicates is that there is no purple dyeing industry in the Final Neolithic. I think this is confirmed by other sources. This is definitely not a fourth millennium industry.

- Theodoropoulou** At least not in Petras.
- Alberti** I want to ask you about purple uses. I want to tell you that in many cases in the Neolithic period we do find ritually crushed shells reused in buildings. So you do not need to find the proper context for dyeing.
- Theodoropoulou** Not necessarily, but at least you need some shells to do so. But I would be interested to know a little bit more about this house where dyeing and wool spinning were found, I cannot remember if there were any significant concentrations of murex, from this area, but this is something to work on.
- Triantaphyllou** Thank you for your very good presentation, Tatiana. I have a question: Can you estimate population units and how many people were fed from the remains you have from Kephala Petras, because this would be very interesting.
- Theodoropoulou** Of course what we can have in zooarchaeology is minimum numbers of individuals, so we have a very small proportion of what would have been the total, but we can test this hypothesis. Then there are ways to estimate life flesh from molluscs eaten, but then again it would be very vague and we would also have to take into account the other resources' input, not just marine ones, to have it. It is an idea and actually there used to be a whole school, back in the '1960s and 70's, with reconstructions of protein and other marine input from shells.
- Papadatos** I would like to intervene on that. It is very important, the deposition, at least at Kephala Petras, because the settlement was used for many decades, perhaps for more than one century, and what we have excavated is only what was left at the very end, in the final phase.
- Theodoropoulou** We can only have this if we have a closed context, a very precise context, and then we know for sure that this was one deposition event.
- Brogan** I think you have seen some of the stuff that has been found in House A at Papadiokampos. We had tremendous evidence for limpets. In many cases they were cooking them, definitely they were heating them. My question to you is: Did you say that they were heating them to clean them, to take the sand out of them, or did I misunderstand you? Did you say that one of the reasons that they might have chosen to heat them rather than eat them raw was to clean them?
- Theodoropoulou** No, actually what I said was that in the palace we have burnt shells, a few burnt shells, but these are burnt deliberately or accidentally once the flesh was removed, once they have eaten the mollusk, and then they deliberately or accidentally have thrown the debris into the fire. This is something we find also today in several tribes around the world. Maori would dump shells into the fire, in order to clean out the space, etc. This has nothing to do with food consumption.
- Brogan** Yes, we found the same thing, the exact same thing.

Hallager I am going back to the purple dyeing. I want to give an example from my excavations in Khania. In several rooms we found a lot of crushed murex shells as floor packing, indicating that purple dyeing might have happened elsewhere and then they reused the crushed shells in the architecture. Metaxia do you have any evidence for that at Petras?

Theodoropoulou Yes, this is a possibility, but then you have to have large quantities of shell. This is something that has been found in Akrotiri; there was an underlying layer of crushed shells that had been used, isolating material underneath, I cannot remember which house it was. This is not the case at Petras, we have very few shells, they are all over, but they are not concentrated in one area.

Tsipopoulou I would like to bring into the conversation the evidence from the recent excavations at the cemetery, and there we also have lots of limpets. Since all the soil is water sieved, we have practically every remain collected and we have hardly any fish bone. This is, I think, very interesting. In many areas of the cemetery we have concentrations of shells and limpets in particular.

Theodoropoulou So you have shells inside the tombs?

Tsipopoulou Mostly outside of the tombs, in the so-called votive deposits.

MacGillivray I just want to go on from Metaxia's point. I am not sure how many other people here were a bit startled, but to look at a community level at Petras sitting at the mouth of a river on the Aegean sea and not having any fish bones, do not you find this strange?

Theodoropoulou Yes it is strange. On the other hand we do not know if they were dumping, throwing away food debris outside of the settlement, or in some other areas, although we would have found some anyhow, and conditions are not unfavorable for preservation of fish bones in Crete. This is what is usually put forward when we do not find anything that they are very fragile, that they are small, but this is not true, not all, we have found them on several other occasions in Crete, in Minoan contexts, so this is an issue to explore further.

MacGillivray We found a lot at Palaikastro.

Theodoropoulou Yes.

Wedde Since we have reached the bottom of the page, I would like to add a footnote. You showed a seal *CMS VII*, no. 17 a man with an object, that consists of a bar, three or four round objects and some ligatures attaching the round object to the bar, it is an interesting comment on how we do, what we do, when we do archaeology, because if you speak to textile people, Brendan Burke for example, it is obvious that this is a shorthand for a loom with the loom weights and if you speak to people from my area of specialization, the ship crowd, then that is obviously a proper raft and you call it a raft.

Greek abstract

Εκμετάλλευση των υδάτινων πόρων κατά τη Νεολιθική και την Μινωική περίοδο στον Πετρά. Διαχρονικές τάσεις και πολιτισμικές αλλαγές.

Ο θαλάσσιος κόσμος πάντα γοήτευε τους ανθρώπους που ζούσαν στα άκρα τοπίων συνδεδεμένων με τη θάλασσα, όπως ήταν το νησί της Κρήτης. Πολυάριθμα είναι τα παραδείγματα της επίδρασης του θαλάσσιου στοιχείου στην καθημερινή ζωή και στις καλλιτεχνικές και συμβολικές εκφράσεις των προϊστορικών οικισμών της Κρήτης. Οι τελευταίες είναι φανερές τόσο σε Νεολιθικές, όσον και σε Μινωικές αποθέσεις, αν και είναι σπάνιο να βρεθεί συνέχεια στη συμπεριφορά των κατοίκων μιας περιοχής. Οι μακροχρόνιες ανασκαφές στο νεολιθικό οικισμό της Κεφάλας και το μινωικό ανάκτορο του Πετρά προσφέρουν μια ανάλογη θαλάσσια μαρτυρία. Πολυάριθμα λείψανα θαλάσσιων ζώων, τα οποία βρέθηκαν τόσο στην Κεφάλα, όσο και στο Μινωικό ανάκτορο, προσφέρουν μοναδική ευκαιρία για μια λεπτομερειακή ματιά στη χρήση των θαλάσσιων ζώων σε διαφορετικά πολιτιστικά και κοινωνικά περιβάλλοντα. Η ανακοίνωση σκοπεύει να εξερευνήσει τις πιθανές χρήσεις των ψαριών και των μαλακίων σε ένα Νεολιθικό οικισμό και στο Μινωικό ανάκτορο, και να χαράξει τις κοινές τάσεις και τις διαφορετικές αντιλήψεις σχετικά με τους καρπούς της θάλασσας εις μέρους δύο διαφορετικών ανθρώπινων ομάδων.



Final discussion

chaired by *J. Alexander MacGillivray*

MacGillivray I do not know about you, but I feel dizzy after two days full time; Petras information overload in some ways. I think like with all excavations and all research projects you come away with more questions than you do answers, but I guess that is why we do it. Like many people yesterday, I should probably start by asking why Metaxia Tsipopoulou asked me. That is possibly because we are such good neighbors, and we have been good neighbors – I worked at Palaikastro since the very beginning. Hugh Sackett and I went in 1983 to Palaikastro though we did not start digging until 1986. We were both younger then, it was a really long time ago. So I have been associated with Petras, and with Metaxia, for all of those 25 years. One thing that does come through is the sheer amount of hard work that is involved, I do not just mean the digging, that is the easy part, it is the bureaucracy, the fund raising, and she had to deal with land owners. That part does not really show in the Symposium. We sit back now and we marvel at these results, but there is a whole back story to this, that perhaps should never be told, or nobody would ever go into archaeology. In Metaxia's case, it was very complicated, very difficult, and she showed amazing staying power, and we are very grateful that she did. When I first went to eastern Crete in 1983, you would drive by Petras, and there was nothing there, now 25 years later, what Metaxia has done is that she has given us this amazing site, she has put Petras on the map. Bosanquet went through there for a couple of days in 1901, and wrote about it, but Metaxia has effectively put Petras on the map. It has now become a fairly big dot in the discussions of Bronze Age Crete. One of the things she has shown us, and Costas Paschalidis was reminding me that, from the very beginning, from the Final Neolithic IV to the Byzantine period, Petras, I suppose by virtually being by the sea, has an international spirit and it has international connections. We are even talking about connections with Egypt in MM IB, and it functions very well as a harbor town.

What I thought I might do, in order to lead this discussion, and you may want to talk more with the speakers, was really think about what these 25 years at Petras have given us. Being an old school archaeologist I still tend to think chronologically, instead of thematically. I thought it would be simpler really to run through what these excavations have given us in terms of the broader picture of Bronze Age Crete, and then Bronze Age Aegean, and then in the later periods, in Byzantium. Obviously the place to start is FN IV, when we have the first settlers, and we have strong Cycladic influence. What do you think that means? Are the people of Petras like people from Hagia Photia in the next period? I suppose Petras was looking for metals and lithics. The thing that still amazes me is that these people who we see trading abroad, which means that either they are going by the sea, or somebody is coming to them by sea, were not eating fish; there is a problem sailing over all this wonderful food, and not eating it, although we did see the fish hooks.

So, you can look at EM I and EM II and see what that gives us, in terms of the overall picture, what happens in EM III–MM IA, when we have the wonderful ossuaries with their pots, especially that collection of whole vases, at the end of that period. MM IB is a very interesting period when you had very expensive well painted ceramics that were put down in the Lakkos. And there is the wonderful tempting reconstruction that the hill was used, certainly in that period, if not earlier, for social gatherings, people coming together; feasting, if we want to use that trendy term, it is a focal point, for perhaps more than one community going there. What they are consuming is, certainly, when we are looking at the pottery, material locally made, but also imported, and therefore, slightly more expensive. Who are these people, where do they live, are they coming from further afield, to gather at this place? This was obviously important, and then this was replaced by the first palace, which if I am not mistaken, could be fortified; you think that the terrace wall could work as a fortification wall?

Tsipopoulou Not entirely, one part yes.

MacGillivray So it gives an impression, like the façades of the other palaces, we then have this change. There is enough wealth, enough power and enough desire to build this larger center, and this coincides with the change, it seems, in the Kephala cemetery, where, instead of re-deposited burials, we have these two males, these two fairly interesting individuals, who are using, presumably, these wonderful seals, that we saw Olga Krzyszkowska present. As they coincide with the construction of the palace, it would be interesting to speculate who were these young men, and why they were buried differently, inhumations, as opposed to whatever their normal practice was.

Then there is the destruction of this first palace, at the end of MM IIB, and we have the archive, that is one of the main reasons why we can talk about it as a palace. How big a center is Petras, is it controlling a wide area, can we tell that from the goods in the archive? I am still not entirely convinced, we might be misleading ourselves with these big state maps that we draw for Middle Minoan Crete. They could be much smaller, like Hellenistic city-state areas, much smaller areas of control. I think we are reading back almost from the modern Greek church boundaries, which currently separate Crete, and so we trying to recreate something like that, but that may have not been the case. That is something we can discuss.

This palace then, like many other buildings throughout Crete, towards or at the end of MM IIB, gets trashed, fortunately for people like Erik Hallager, who then have all this wonderful material to work with, and allows him, or us, to reconstruct what is actually being recorded in this building. And does this palace, that is very well excavated now, much better excavated than Knossos, does this allow us to answer the question that Jan Driessen has posed most recently, is this, are these, social ritual centers, or are they really the palaces of a monarch? Are we meant to view kings, or queens, living here? Or is Crete the only place in the ancient world where you do not have some divinely inspired, or actually divinely stated ruler in charge? Can Petras help us to solve that question in this period?

We then go to MM III, and that is something that we will have to see what it gives us over time, but we have that rather amazing rod, with the Linear A inscription. So, certainly there is administration in that period. But where is the building that has

been used? It is probably the building in which they have the LM IA floor deposits afterwards.

The LM IA period is amazing, I thought that we would never go through a whole two-day conference about a site in the Aegean, talking about its Bronze Age history, without mentioning the Thera eruption. But it came through at Papadiokampos, and it is kind of interesting that it was not mentioned by any of the workers at Petras.

Tsipopoulou We do not have ash.

MacGillivray You would not have ash, because the tsunami does not get up on a hill. That is what is preserving the ash at Mochlos, Papadiokampos, Palaikastro and other places. But even without the ash, you have destruction, you have abandonment, and then you have a change in LM IB, when you have a smaller courtyard, a slightly rearranged building, could that be a reflection of the kind of damage you had in the period, depopulation, etc.? When Zakros and Gournia and Mochlos and other sites have all these wonderful buildings in LM IB, the Late Minoan Renaissance, Petras has suffered somehow, the harbor at Petras may have silted in, as a result of the debris flows coming back? It is worth discussing.

Then you have the LM IB destructions. Petras comes in line with the rest of the world. You do not seem to have evidence for LM II, so there is no instant reoccupation of the area, and in a sense it is your great LM IA palace with the Linear A that may be the last glory days at the site.

It is interesting that there is that memory of the place, where for some reason, I suppose it is the topography that demands it as well, where people would come and relocate, but not necessarily relocate to live, because in different periods you live in different places but some local community, possibly even just a family, was coming through where you have the LM IIIC settlement and megaron on Kephala.

Then in the Byzantine period, with a time span of 150 years for the use of the cemetery, it would not have been simply serving just one family, one farmstead. And they were manufacturing stuff also, up on the hill, but it remains a sacred place.

The fun thing is that Hill I has now become a sacred place again. Metaxia has fought tooth and nail to keep it from becoming a suburb of Siteia, and instead she has turned it into a place that reminds people from Siteia, or at least should remind people from Siteia, like Giorgos Alexopoulos, that they do have a very long and rich history, with a lot of external communications.

These are some of the themes I am thinking of. Then there is the theme of burial practices. That would be very interesting, changes in burial practices, what happens in MM III–LM I. If anybody would like to start, attacking, commenting on ideas that have come up, please do.

Hallager I was struck by one thing that you mentioned, at the very beginning, the lack of fish, and if I may suggest one possible solution. Based on my experience from the excavations in Khania, it has always been a very great mystery to me why you have no rubbish pits in the LM I settlement. As I travelled around the island I asked all our colleagues excavating LM I settlements “where are your rubbish pits?”, and they were not there. It was Phil Betancourt who gave me an answer, which I am going to suggest also for the missing fish bones. He said that during that period and probably

also in the earlier periods, such organic remains were very important and they were taken out into the fields to be used as manure. This might be one possible suggestion for the missing fish bones.

MacGillivray Interesting.

Vallianou I just want to point out that Metaxia must be a very happy Greek archaeologist. After 25 years of hard work, and having faced many difficult problems, she managed to complete an important work, to excavate a particularly important site, to establish its relations with other areas, to have very good collaborators, to publish a lot, to reach almost the end of her research, and to make the site accessible to the public, with modest but appropriate interventions. I would like to wish her luck in the future, and I believe that she deserved all she has achieved up to now.

MacGillivray Excellent. She has been very clever about getting the right sort of collaborators.

Macdonald Can I just ask about the end of LM IB, perhaps you did not go into detail, at least House II.1 is abandoned, not destroyed by fire?

Tsipopoulou There is fire, especially since the industrial activity taking place there was connected with hearths, heating water, etc. The whole of Room E gave evidence for a fire. In the Shaw Festschrift, the *Krinoi kai Limenes* volume (Tsipopoulou 2007c), I published, for the first time, several pictures of the destruction deposit over the central court of the palace. There was a thick LM IB destruction deposit, full of blocks fallen from the upper floor, door jambs, from *polythyra*, many with mason's marks among them (we have identified 29 on fallen blocks, and some more are *in situ*). There was this very thick deposit with intense burning, all over the central court and to the east of it. In the central court we had 10 Byzantine graves and also the ossuary. Some of them, as Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou said, used one Minoan wall and then built another three walls, to have a cist built tomb. In other cases, they excavated in this very thick and compact destruction deposit, which was like the bedrock, and they put their dead in it.

MacGillivray So the LM IB fire destruction reached very high temperatures.

Tsipopoulou It is something very similar to the Phaistos "*astraki*". We do not have much LM IB pottery, because what we call the west wing of the palace, the parallel corridors on the plan, are all basement, or rather they are structural features to support the upper floors, so they were practically empty of any traces of the latest use. When we dug deeper, we found the walls of previous buildings. The latest phase of the palace is not well preserved, but we do have the destruction deposit.

Besides the central court, there was a room with an intense LM IB destruction deposit. This room is adjacent to the so-called "shrine" with the 4 m long plastered bench. This room with the bench was Protopalatial, and following the MM IIB destruction was sealed and never re-used. To the northeast of it, there was a long room with a flagstone floor, and in it even the slabs were burnt. It was also full of plaster and mudbricks both from the ground and from the upper floors.

- MacGillivray** That suggests that in LM IB the building was sufficiently important for someone to need to destroy it.
- Tsipopoulou** What always makes me wonder is why they kept this smaller, sort of symbolic, central court, and they did all the re-arrangement with the alternating columns and pillars. It has always been a palace with the memory of the earlier glory.
- MacGillivray** The Linear A tablets come from that?
- Tsipopoulou** Yes.
- MacGillivray** So there is administration.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, but we do not know about the existence of an archive. There were two tablets, in the same trench, at the west part of the building, the same trench that contained the hieroglyphic archive in a deeper stratum. And in between there was also an LM IA destruction deposit, all that in the same trench, we excavated almost 3 m. Kostas Christakis excavated the LM IA destruction deposit.
- MacGillivray** I wonder if, maybe Kostas Christakis will talk about the notion of foreigners and locals that Tina McGeorge brought up quite clearly.
- Paschalidis** I would like to change the subject, based on a comment we exchanged yesterday with Metaxia. In this Symposium, the LM III period was not adequately represented, not because it did not exist at Petras.
- Tsipopoulou** Right.
- Paschalidis** So, in order to have a complete picture of the site we should need to include this important period as well.
- MacGillivray** Is there LM IIIA and IIIB?
- Tsipopoulou** And also LM IIIC, as we saw.
- Paschalidis** There was a cemetery, Metaxia, that you showed us yesterday.
- Tsipopoulou** Yes, there has been a cemetery; we had the larnakes, both chest-shaped and bathtub. The cemetery started in LM IIIB and continued into LM IIIC.
- MacGillivray** The interesting thing about having a settlement like Petras, that was occupied for thousands of years, is that you can almost visualize populations coming and going. One of the best ways to see them is through their burial practices and to see how these change over time. Because you are dealing with the same spot, but obviously you are not dealing with the same people, you are watching populations come and go.

- Tsipopoulou** I would like to remind you about the Achladia tholos, which is Mycenaean in type and construction. This is very close to Petras, only 4 km from the coast, and it was also almost on top of an earlier settlement, a very small one, a *metochi* type, both Proto- and Neopalatial.
- MacGillivray** Was that the one with the 80-year old in it?
- Tsipopoulou** Not 80, she was 45–65 years old when she died.
- MacGillivray** That is pretty old, anyway.
- Tsipopoulou** It was pretty old, and she had suffered from a very significant stress when she was very young, probably malnutrition.
- MacGillivray** The Theraeruption? No the Mycenaean invasion.
[Laughs from the audience!]
- Tsipopoulou** The LM IB destruction. She was an upper class lady.
- MacGillivray** Does everybody know whatever they possibly want to know about Petras?
- Blackman** I am actually working on Ramnous and I found out about this conference while studying there, with surprise. It is actually wonderful to be there. We are studying with *EAIKEΘE* [Hellenic Center of Marine Research] the problem of relative sea level change. Relative is the important word here, has the sea gone down and the land gone up, or both phenomena? The question goes back to Spratt and the whole question of what Crete has done, we know about elevation in the west, but something was happening in the east, and we have these submerged buildings at Palaikastro, which we wanted to survey. The whole issue of reconstructing the palaeoenvironment is very important. Now, at Siteia we have a *neoreion* that is classical, too late for our Prehistorian friends, but there you have something which functions with a precise sea level, not far from your site. First the geologists disagree about what has happened to the sea. Secondly the land is not one block, so what applies to Palaikastro will not necessarily apply to Siteia.
- MacGillivray** No, you have local tectonics.
- Blackman** But, nevertheless, a local study of the evidence for submerged beach lines would enable you to understand what has happened in the later periods, including eruptions, what has happened to the shoreline. Geologists can help with all that. Keep working with geologists, it is a challenge, they do not know how to apply for archaeological permits, and also the jealousies of geologists are far greater than the jealousies of archaeologists.
- MacGillivray** Impossible!
[Laughs in the audience!]

Blackman Nevertheless, it is very important for reconstructing communications by sea in the Minoan period, it is very important to try to reconstruct where the coastline was before you can understand the use of harbors, whatever harbors mean. It has been a wonderful conference. Congratulations to Dr Tsipopoulou.

MacGillivray I think this is probably the best time, to thank not only Metaxia but also her whole crew, for putting together the Symposium, and obviously these two days represent the end-result of 25 years of hard work, but you are probably less than half way there on the site, so we should probably meet every five years and get all the new information.
[Laughs in the audience]

And I hope you will all join me thanking Metaxia and her colleagues for this fantastic Symposium!

Bibliography

Bibliographic abbreviations

AASOR – *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*

ActaArch – *Lov Acta archaeologica Lovanensia*

AJA – *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJPA – *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*

AR – *Archaeological Reports*

ArchDelt – *Archaeologikon Deltion*

ArchEph – *Archaiologike Ephemeris*

ASAtene – *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*

BAR-IS – *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*

BASOR – *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

BCH – *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

BCH Suppl. – *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique. Supplément*

BÉFAR – *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes e de Rome*

BICS – *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*

BSA – *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSPF – *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*

CHIC – Olivier, J.-P. & L. Godart 1996. *Corpus hieroglyphicarum inscriptionum Cretae* (Études Crétoises 31), Athens and Rome.

CMS – *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*, Berlin 1964–2000; Mainz 2002–

GORILA – Olivier, J.-P. & L. Godart 1976–1985, *Recueil des inscriptions en linéaire A*, 1–5 (Études Crétoises 21, 1–5), Paris.

CretChron – *Kretika Chronika*

CurrAnthr – *Current Anthropology*

JAnthArch – *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*

JAS – *Journal of Archaeological Science*

JMA – *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*

JPR – *Journal of Prehistoric Religion*

Kentro – *Kentro: The Newsletter of the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete*

OpAth – *Opuscula Atheniensia*

Prakt – *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaiologikes Etaireias*

SIMA – *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

SkrAth – *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*

WorldArch – *World Archaeology*

Works cited

Akkermans, P.M.M.G & G.M. Schwartz 2003
The archaeology of Syria, Cambridge.

Albani, J. 2004
'Grabbeigaben aus der byzantinischen und nachbyzantinischen Sammlung in Chania/Kreta', in *Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger, Wien 4-7 Dezember 2002*, W. Hörandner, J. Koder & M.A. Stassinopoulou (eds.), (Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia 24), Wien, 53–60.

Alberti, M.E. 2007
'Washing and dyeing installations of the ancient Mediterranean: towards a definition from Roman times back to Minoan Crete', in *Ancient textiles: production, craft and society, proceedings of the first international conference on ancient textiles, held at Lund, Sweden, and Copenhagen, Denmark, on March 19–23, 2003*, C. Gillis & M.L. Nosch (eds.), Oxford and Oakville, 59–63.

Alberti, M.E. 2011
'The vessels in cooking fabrics from Room Epsilon of House II.1', in Tsipopoulou & Alberti 2011, 481–98.

Alexiou, S. 1964
'Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Κρήτης, Α' Περιφέρεια Ήρακλείου/μικράι σαφικάί έρευναί, περισυλλογή

- ἀρχαιοτήτων', *ArchDelt* 19, Chronika, 3.
- Alexiou, S. 1970
 'Αρχαιότητες και μνημεῖα Κεντρικῆς καὶ Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης, ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ περισυλλογὴ ἀρχαιοτήτων', *ArchDelt* 25, Chronika, 454–7.
- Alexiou, S. & P. Warren 2004
The Early Minoan tombs of Lebena, southern Crete (SIMA 30), Sävedalen.
- Anastasiadou, M. 2011
The Middle Minoan three-sided soft stone prism: a study of style and iconography (CMS Beiheft 9), Darmstadt & Mainz.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. 2011
 'LM IB pottery in Khania', in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 55–92.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. & E. Papadopoulou 2005
 'The habitation at Khamalevri, Rethymnon, during the 12th century BC', in D'Agata & Moody 2005, 353–98.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M. & E. Papadopoulou 2007
 'Recent evidence for the destruction of the LM IIIC habitation at Khamalevri, Rethymnon', in *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms II. LH III Middle*, S. Deger-Jalkotzy & M. Zavadil (eds.), Wien, 27–53.
- Andreadaki-Vlazaki, M., G. Rethemiotakis & N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki (eds.) 2008
From the land of the labyrinth: Minoan Crete, 3000–1100 BC, New York.
- Angel, L. & S. Biesel 1986
 'Health and stress in Early Bronze Age Anatolia', in *Ancient Anatolia: aspects of change and cultural development. Essays in honour of Machteld J. Mellink*, J.V. Canby, E. Porada, B.S. Ridgway & T. Stech (eds.), (Wisconsin Studies in Classics), Wisconsin, 12–30.
- Apostolakou, S. 2008
 'A workshop for dyeing wool at Pefka near Pacheia Ammos', *Kentro* 11, 1–2.
- Apostolakou, S., P.P. Betancourt & T.M. Brogan 2009
 'Excavating the bronze saw on Chryssi island', *Kentro* 12, 3–5.
- Apostolakou, S., P.P. Betancourt & T.M. Brogan forthcoming
 'New evidence for the collection of murex shells for the Minoan purple dye industry in East Crete', in *KOSMOS: jewellery, adornment and textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegaeum).
- Asdrachas, S. 2007
Greek economic history. 13th–19th centuries, Athens.
- Astour, M.C. 1980
 'The netherworld and its denizens at Ugarit', in *Death in Mesopotamia; papers read at the XXVIe rencontre Assyriologique internationale*, B. Alster (ed.), (Mesopotamia 8), Copenhagen, 227–38.
- Åström, P. & D.S. Reese 1990
 'Triton shells in East Mediterranean cults', *JPR* 3–4, 5–14.
- Aufderheide, A.C. & C. Rodríguez-Martín 1998
Cambridge encyclopaedia of human palaeopathology, Cambridge.
- Aura Jorro, F. 1985
Diccionario micénico, Madrid.
- Bailey, D.W. 2005
Prehistoric figurines, representation and corporeality in the Neolithic, London and New York, esp. 'Miniaturism and dimensionality', 26–44.
- Bakirtzis, Ch. 1989
Βυζαντινά τσονγαλολάγγρα, συμβολή στη μελέτη ονομασιών, σχημάτων και χρήσεων μαγειρικῶν σκευῶν, μεταφορικῶν και αποθηρευτικῶν δοχείων, Athens.
- Barnard, K.A. & T.M. Brogan 2003
Mochlos IB: Period III. Neopalatial settlement on the coast: the Artisans' Quarter and the farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Neopalatial pottery (Prehistory Monographs 8), Philadelphia.
- Barnard, K.A. & T.M. Brogan 2011
 'Pottery of the late Neopalatial period at Mochlos', in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 427–50.
- Barthes, R. 1999
Camera Lucida, New York.
- Battini-Villard, L. 1999
L'espace domestique en Mésopotamie de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur à l'époque paléo-babylonienne (BAR-IS 767), Oxford.
- Baumbach, L. 1983
 'An examination of the personal names in the Knossos tablets as evidence for the social structure of Crete in the Late Minoan II period', in Krzyszkowska & Nixon 1983, 3–10.
- Baurain, C. 1987
 'Les nécropoles de Malia', in Laffineur 1987, 62–73.
- Baurain, Cl. & P. Darcque 1987
 'Un triton en pierre à Malia', *BCH* 107, 3–73.
- Becker, C. 1996
 'Nourriture, cuillères, ornements... les témoignages d'une exploitation variée des mollusques marins à Ayios Mamas (Chalcidique, Grèce)', *Anthropozoologica* 24, 3–17.

- Becker, M. 1975
‘Human skeletal remains from Kato Zakro’, *AJA* 79, 271–6.
- Bennett, E.L., Jr. 1955
The Pylos Tablets. Texts of the inscriptions found 1939–1954, Princeton.
- Benzel, K. 2008
‘Ornaments of interaction: the art of the jeweler’, in *Beyond Babylon: art, trade, and diplomacy in the second millennium BC*, J. Aruz, K. Benzel & J.M. Evans (eds.), New Haven and London, 101–3.
- Bernabò Brea, L. 1964
Poliochni, città preistorica nell’isola di Lemnos (Monografie della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in oriente 1), Rome.
- Betancourt, P.P. 1980
Cooking vessels from Minoan Kommos. A preliminary report (Institute of Archaeology University of California Occasional Paper 7), Los Angeles.
- Betancourt, P.P. 1984
East Cretan white-on-dark ware: studies on a handmade pottery of the Early to Middle Minoan periods (University Museum Monograph 51), Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2004
‘Pseira and Knossos: the transformation of an East Cretan seaport’, in Day, Mook & Muhly 2004, 21–8.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2006
‘Joining techniques of Early Bronze Age Trojan jewelry’, *Studia Troica* 16, 89–95.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2007
‘Lasithi and the Malia–Lasithi State’, in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 209–21.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2008
The Bronze Age begins: the ceramics revolution of Early Minoan I and the new forms of wealth that transformed prehistoric society, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P. 2010
‘The EM I pithoi from Aphrodite’s Kephali’, in Krzyszkowska 2010a, 1–10.
- Betancourt, P.P. & C. Davaras (eds.) 2003
Pseira VII. The Pseira cemetery 2. Excavation of the tombs, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P. & N. Marinatos 2000
‘Το σπήλαιο της Αμνισού: η έρευνα του 1992’, *ArchEph* 139, 179–236.
- Betancourt P.P. & J.S. Silverman 1991
The Cretan Collection in the University Museum University of Pennsylvania. Vol. II. Pottery from Gournia, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., S. Apostolakou & T.M. Brogan forthcoming
‘A workshop for dyeing wool at Pefka near Pacheia Ammos’, in *KOSMOS: jewellery, adornment and textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Aegeum).
- Betancourt, P.P., V. Karageorghis. R. Laffineur & W.-D. Niemeier 1999
MELETEMATATA: studies in Aegean archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he enters his 65th Year (Aegeum 20), Liège.
- Betancourt, P.P., M.C. Nelson & H. Williams (eds.) 2007
Krinoi kai limenes: studies in honor of Joseph and Maria Shaw (Prehistory Monographs 22), Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., C. Davaras, H.M.C. Dierckx, S.C. Ferrence, J. Hickman, P. Karkanas, P.J.P. McGeorge, J.D. Muhly, D.S.
- Reese, E. Stravopodi & L. Langford-Verstegen 2008
‘Excavations in the Hagios Charalambos cave: a preliminary report’, *Hesperia* 77, 539–605.
- Betts, J.H. 1967
‘New light on Minoan bureaucracy’, *Kadmos* 6, 15–40.
- Bevan, A. 2010
‘Political geography and palatial Crete’, *JMA* 23.1, 27–54.
- Bintliff, J.L. 1977
‘The number of burials in the Mesara tholoi’, *BSA* 72, 83–4.
- Blackman, D. & K. Branigan 1973
‘An unusual tholos tomb at Kaminospilio’, *CretChron* 29, 199–206.
- Blackman, D. & K. Branigan 1982
‘The excavation of an Early Minoan tholos tomb at Hagia Kyriaki, Ayiofarango, southern Crete’, *BSA* 77, 1–57.
- Blanton, R.E. 1998
‘Beyond centralization: steps toward a theory of egalitarian behaviour’, in *Archaic States*, G.M. Feinman & J. Marcus (eds.), Santa Fe, 135–72.
- Blanton, R.E., G.M. Feinman, S.A. Kowaleskim & P.M. Peregrine 1996
‘A dual-processual theory of the evolution of the Mesoamerican civilization’, *CurrAnthr* 37, 1–14.
- Blegen, C. 1950
Troy I, Princeton.
- Boardman, J. 1989
‘The finds’, in *Excavations in Chios. 1952–1955. Byzantine Emporio*, M. Ballance, J. Boardman, S. Corbett & S. Hood (eds.), Oxford, 86–142.
- Borboudakis, M. 1968
‘Δοκιμαστική ανασκαφή Αγίου Πέτρου των Ένετων Ἡρακλείου’,

- ArchDelt* 23, Chronika, 427–9.
- Borgna, E. 2004
‘Aegean feasting: a Minoan perspective’, in *The Mycenaean feast*, J.C. Wright (ed.), Princeton, 127–59.
- Bosanquet, R.C. 1901–1902
‘Excavations at Palaikastro’, *BSA* 8, 282–4, 286–316.
- Bosanquet, R. & R. Dawkins 1902–1903
‘Excavations at Palaikastro, II’, *BSA* 9, 274–387.
- Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923
The unpublished objects from the Palaikastro excavations 1902-1906. Part I (BSA Suppl. 1), London.
- Boskamp, A. 1966
‘Minoan storage capacities (1): graffiti on the pithoi in the palace magazines at Knossos’, *BSA* 91, 103–8.
- Botsi, B.-M. 2004
Μικρογραφικά αγγεία. Μία παραμελημένη αρχαιολογική ενότητα. Παραδείγματα από την Ανατολική Κρήτη της Εποχής του Χαλκού, MA Thesis, University of Crete, Rethymnon.
- Boyd, B. 1995
‘Houses and hearths, pits and burials: Natufian mortuary practices at Mallaha (Eynan), Upper Jordan Valley’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 17–23.
- Boyd, H. 1905
Gourmia. Report of the American Exploration Society’s excavations at Gourmia, Crete, 1904 (Transactions of the Department of Archaeology, Free Museum of Science and Art. University of Pennsylvania 13), Philadelphia.
- Brandes, W. 1999
‘Byzantine cities in the seventh and eighth centuries—different sources, different histories?’, in *The idea and the ideal of the town between late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, G. Brogiolo & Br. Ward-Perkins (eds.), Leiden, Boston, Köln, 25–57.
- Branigan, K. 1968a
Copper and bronze working in Early Bronze Age Crete (SIMA 19), Lund.
- Branigan, K. 1968b
‘Silver and lead in Prepalatial Crete’, *AJA* 72, 219–29.
- Branigan, K. 1970a
The foundations of palatial Crete: a survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age, London.
- Branigan, K. 1970b
The tombs of Mesara, London.
- Branigan, K. 1974
Aegean metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, Oxford.
- Branigan, K. 1987
‘Ritual interference with human bones in the Mesara tholoi’, in Laffineur 1987, 43–50.
- Branigan, K. 1988
Prepalatial: the foundations of palatial Crete, Amsterdam.
- Branigan, K. 1991
‘Funerary ritual and social cohesion in Early Bronze Age Crete’, *JMS* 1, 183–92.
- Branigan, K. 1993
Dancing with death: life and death in southern Crete c. 3000–2000 BC, Amsterdam.
- Branigan, K. 1994
‘Open-air shrines in Pre-Palatial Crete’, in *ΑΙΟΙΒΗ, εις μνήμην Ανδρέα Γ. Καλοκαιρινού*, Herakleion, 279–90.
- Branigan, K. 1995
‘Social transformation and the rise of the state in Crete’, in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 33–42.
- Branigan, K. (ed.) 1998a
Cemetery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age, Sheffield.
- Branigan, K. 1998b
‘The nearness of you: proximity and distance in Early Minoan funerary landscapes’, in Branigan 1998a, 13–26.
- Branigan, K. 1999
‘The nature of warfare in the southern Aegean during the third millennium BC’, in Laffineur 1999, 87–94.
- Branigan, K. 2001a
Urbanism in the Aegean Bronze Age, Sheffield.
- Branigan, K. 2001b
‘Aspects of Minoan urbanism’, in Branigan 2001a, 38–50.
- Brodie, M., J. Doole, G. Gavalas & C. Renfrew (eds.) 2008
Horizon: a colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades, Cambridge.
- Brogan, T.M. 2011
‘Introduction’, in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 39–53.
- Brogan, T.M. & E. Hallager (eds.) 2011
LM IB pottery: relative chronology and regional differences. Acts of a workshop held at the Danish Institute at Athens in collaboration with the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, 27–29 June 2007 (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 11), Athens.
- Brogan, T.M. & Ch. Sofianou 2009
‘Papadiokambos: new evidence for the impact of the Thera eruption on the northeast coast of Crete’, in *Time’s up! Dating the*

- Minoan eruption of Santorini. *Acts of the Minoan eruption chronology workshop, Sandbjerg November 2007 initiated by Jan Heinemeier & Walter L. Friedrich*, D.A. Warburton (ed.), (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 10), Athens, 117–25.
- Brogan, T.M., Ch. Sofianou & J.E. Morrison 2011a
‘In search of the upper story of LM I House A.1 at Papadiokampos: an integrated architectural and ceramic perspective’, in *Our cups are full: pottery and society in the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, W. Gauss, M. Lindbloom, R.A.K. Smith & J.C. Wright (eds.), Oxford, 31–9.
- Brogan, T.M., Ch. Sofianou & J.E. Morrison 2011b
‘The LM IB pottery from Papadiokampos: a response to Leonidas Vokotopoulos’, in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 573–93.
- Brogan, T.M., Ch. Sofianou, J.E. Morrison, E. Margaritis & D. Mylonas forthcoming
‘Living off the fruit of the sea in House A.1 at Papadiokampos’, in *Subsistence economy and society in the Greek world: improving the integration of archaeology and science, international conference, Athens, 22 – 24 March 2010, organized by The Netherlands Institute at Athens (NIA) and the Hellenic Society of Archaeometry (EAE)*.
- Broodbank, C. 2000
An island archaeology of the Early Cyclades, Cambridge.
- Bruin, F. 1970
‘Royal purple and the dye industries of the Mycenaeans and Phoenicians’, in *Sociétés et campagnes de commerce en Orient et dans l’Océan Indien, Actes du huitième colloque international d’histoire maritime, Beyrouth (5–10 septembre 1966)*, M. Mollat (ed.), Paris, 73–90.
- Brumfiel, E.M. & T.K. Earle 1987
‘Specialization, exchange, and complex societies: an introduction’, in *Specialization, exchange, and complex societies*, E.M. Brumfiel & T.K. Earle (eds.), Cambridge, 1–9.
- Burke, B. 2005
‘Materialization of Mycenaean ideology and the Ayia Triada sarcophagus’, *AJA* 109, 403–22.
- Burke, B. 2006
‘A textile workshop in House II at Petras, Siteia’, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A1, Herakleion, 279–95.
- Cadogan, G. 1977–1978
‘Pyrgos, Crete 1970–1977’, *AR* 24, 70–84.
- Cadogan, G. 1995
‘Mallia and Lasithi: a palace state’, in *Proceedings of the 7th International Cretological Conference (Rethymnon, 26–30 August 1991)*, A1, Rethymnon, 97–104.
- Cadogan, G., E. Hatzaki & A. Vasilakis (eds.) 2004
Knossos: palace, city, state. Proceedings of the conference in Herakleion organized by the British School at Athens and the 23rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Herakleion, in November 2000, for the centenary of Sir Arthur Evans’ excavations at Knossos (British School at Athens Studies 12), London.
- Caloi, I. 2009
‘For a new ceramic sequence of Protopalatial Phaistos (MM IB–MM IIA) and some observations on barbotine ware’, *Creta Antica* 10, 373–400.
- Campbell, S. & A. Green (eds.) 1995
The archaeology of death in the ancient Near East (Oxbow Monograph 51), Oxford.
- Carter, T. 1998
‘Reverberations of the “international spirit”: thoughts upon “Cycladica” in the Mesara’, in Branigan 1998a, 59–77.
- Carter, T. 1999
‘*Through a glass darkly*: obsidian and society in the southern Aegean Early Bronze Age’, Ph.D. dissertation, University College, London.
- Carter, T. 2010
‘Of blades and burials, flakes and funerals. The chipped stone from Moni Odigitria’, in Vasilakis & Branigan 2010, 151–69.
- Carter, E. & A. Parker 1995
‘Pots, people and the archaeology of death in northern Syria and southern Anatolia in the latter half of the third millennium BC’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 96–119.
- Castel, C. 1996
‘Un quartier de maisons urbaines du Bronze Moyen à Tell Mohammed Diyab’, in *Houses and households in ancient Mesopotamia*, K. Veenhof (ed.), Istanbul, 273–84.
- Catapotis, M., Y. Bassiakos & Y. Papadatos 2011
‘Reconstructing early Cretan metallurgy: analytical evidence from Kephala Petras, Siteia’, in *Metallurgy: understanding how, learning why, studies in honor of James D. Muhly*, P.P. Betancourt & S. Ferrence (eds.), (Prehistory Monographs 29), Philadelphia, 69–78.
- Catling, E., H. Catling, D. Smythe, G. Jones & R.E. Jones 1979
‘Knossos 1975: Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I houses by the Acropolis’, *BSA* 74, 1–80.

- Cauvin, J. 1979
‘Les fouilles de Mureybet (1971–1974) et leur signification pour les origines de la sédentarisation du Proche-Orient’, *AASOR* 44, 19–48.
- Cavanagh, W. & C. Mee 1998
A private place: death in prehistoric Greece (SIMA 125), Göteborg.
- Chaniotis, A. (ed.) 1999
From Minoan farmers to Roman traders: sidelights on the economy of ancient Crete, Stuttgart.
- Cherry, J.F. 1986
‘Politics and palaces: some problems in the Minoan state formation’, in *Peer-polity interaction and socio-political change*, C. Renfrew & J. F. Cherry (eds.), Cambridge, 19–45.
- Christakis, K. 1999
‘Pithoi and food storage in Neopalatial Crete: a domestic perspective’, in *Food technology in its social context: production, processing and storage*, D.T. Kenyon (ed.), (WorldArch 31), 1–20.
- Christakis, K.S. 2005
Cretan Bronze Age pithoi. Traditions and trends in the production and consumption of storage containers in Bronze Age Crete (Prehistory Monographs 18), Philadelphia.
- Christakis, K.S. 2008a
The politics of storage. Storage and sociopolitical complexity in Neopalatial Crete (Prehistory Monographs 25), Philadelphia.
- Christakis, K.S. 2008b
History and trade in Crete from prehistory to the beginning of the 20th century, Herakleion.
- Christakis, K. 2011
‘Pithoi and economy in LM IB state societies’, in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 241–54.
- Christie’s London 1989
The Erlenmeyer Collection of Cretan seals (sale catalogue, Monday 5 June 1989, 2.30 p.m.).
- Chryssoulaki, S. 1999
‘Minoan roads and guard houses-war regained’, in Laffineur 1999, 75–85.
- Chryssoulaki, S. 2001
‘The Traostalos peak sanctuary: aspects of spatial organisation’, in Laffineur & Hägg 2001, 57–66.
- Chryssoulaki, S. & L. Platon 1987
‘Relations between the town and palace of Zakros’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 77–84.
- Claassen, C. 1998
Shells (Cambridge manuals in archaeology), Cambridge.
- Clark, J.E. & M. Blake 1994
‘The power of prestige: competitive generosity and the emergence of rank societies in lowland Mesoamerica’, in *Factional competition and political development in the New World*, E.M. Brumfiel & J.W. Fox (eds.), Cambridge, 17–30.
- Coqueugniot, E. 1999
‘Tell Dja’de al-Mughara’, in Del Olmo Lette & Montero Fenollos 1999, 41–55.
- Crowley, J.L. 1995
‘Images of power in the Bronze Age Aegean’, in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 475–91.
- Cunningham, T. 2001
‘Variations on a theme: divergence in settlement patterns and spatial organization in the far east of Crete during the Proto- and Neopalatial periods’, in Branigan 2001a, 72–86.
- D’Agata, A.L. 1992
‘Late Minoan Crete and horns of consecration: a symbol in action’, in Laffineur & Crowley 1992, 247–56.
- D’Agata, A.L. 1997–2000
‘Ritual and rubbish in Dark Age Crete: the settlement of Thronos/Kephala (ancient Sybrita) and the Pre-Classical roots of a Greek city’, *Aegean Archaeology* 4, 45–59.
- D’Agata, A.L. & J. Moody (eds.) 2005
Ariadne’s Threads: connections between Crete and the Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC). Proceedings of an international workshop held in Athens, Scuola Archeologica Italiana, 5–6 April 2003 (Tripodes 3), Athens.
- D’Agata, A.L. & A. Van de Moortel (eds.) 2009
Archaeologies of cult: essays on ritual and cult in Crete in honor of Geraldine C. Gesell (Hesperia Suppl. 42), Princeton.
- D’Annibale, C. 2006
‘Production and consumption of obsidian in the Siteia Bay area: Final Neolithic through Late Minoan’, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Congress (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A1, Herakleion, 332–45.
- D’Annibale, C. 2008
‘Obsidian in transition: the technological reorganization of the obsidian industry from Petras Kephala (Siteia) between Final Neolithic IV and Early Minoan I’, in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 191–200.
- Darcque, P. 2005
L’habitat mycénien. Formes et fonctions de l’espace bâti en Grèce continentale à la fin du II^e millénaire avant J.-C. (BÉFAR 319), Paris.
- Darcque, P. & R. Treuil (eds.) 1990
L’habitat égéen préhistorique. Actes de

- la table ronde internationale organisée par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, l'Université de Paris I, et l'École française d'Athènes, Athènes (23–25 juin 1987) (BCH Suppl. 19), Paris.
- Darrouzès, J. 1981
Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Texte critique, introduction et notes, Paris.
- Davaras, K. n.d.
Μουσείον Αγίου Νικολάου, Athens.
- Davaras, C. 1971
‘Αρχαιολογικές έρευνες στη Σητεία κατά τό θέρος τοῦ 1971’, *Amaltheia* 2, 197–200.
- Davaras, C. 1972
‘Ποινιάς’, *ArchDelt* 27, Chronika, 651.
- Davaras, C. 1976
Guide to Cretan antiquities, New Jersey.
- Davaras, C. 1985
‘Une tombe à vouûte en Crète orientale (note complémentaire)’, *BCH* 109, 625–8.
- Davaras, C. 1988
‘A Minoan beetle rhyton from Prinias, Siteia’, *BSA* 83, 45–54.
- Davaras, C. 2004
‘Chapter 1: The Mochlos ship cup’, in *Mochlos IC: Period III. Neopalatial settlement on the coast: the Artisans’ Quarter and the farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The small finds*, J.S. Soles (ed.), (Prehistory Monographs 9), Philadelphia, 3–15.
- Davaras, C. & P.P. Betancourt 2004
The Hagia Photia cemetery I: the tomb groups and architecture (Prehistory Monographs 14), Philadelphia.
- David, R. 1996
The pyramid builders of Egypt, London & New York, 189–90.
- Davidson, G.R. 1952
Corinth XII: the minor objects, Princeton.
- Dawkins, R.M. 1903–1904
‘Excavations at Palaikastro, III’, *BSA* 10, 192–231.
- Dawkins, R.M. & J. Droop 1911
‘The excavations at Phylakopi in Melos’, *BSA* 17, 1–22.
- Dawkins, R.M., C. Hawes & R.C. Bosanquet 1904–1905
‘Excavations at Palaikastro, IV’, *BSA* 11, 258–308.
- Day, P.M. 1997
‘Ceramic exchange between towns and outlying settlements in Neopalatial East Crete’, in Hägg 1997, 219–28.
- Day, P.M. & M. Relaki 2002
‘Past factions and present fictions: palaces in the study of Minoan Crete’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 217–34.
- Day, L.P., M.S. Mook & J.D. Muhly (eds.) 2004
Crete beyond the palaces: proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference (Prehistory monographs 10), Philadelphia.
- De Contenson, H. 1992
‘Les coutumes funéraires dans le Néolithique Syrien’, *BSPF* 89 (6), 184–91.
- Del Freo, M. 2008
‘Rapport 2001–2005 sur les textes en écriture hiéroglyphique crétoise, en Linéaire A et en Linéaire B’, in *Colloquium Romanum. Atti del XII colloquio internazionale di Micenologia*, A. Sacconi, M. Del Freo, L. Godart & M. Negri (eds.), (Pasiphae 1), Pisa & Rome, 199–222.
- Del Freo, M. forthcoming
‘Rapport 2006–2010 sur les textes en écriture hiéroglyphique crétoise, en Linéaire A et en Linéaire B’, in *Actes du XIIIème colloque international sur les textes égéens (Sèvres-Nanterre-Paris, 20–23 septembre 2010)*, P. Carlier, N. Guilleux, P. Carlier, M. Egetmeyer, Ch. De Lamberterie & J. Zurbach (eds.).
- Del Olmo Lette, G. & J.-L. Montero Fenollos (eds.) 1999
Archaeology of the Upper Syria Euphrates: the Tishrin Dam area. Proceedings of the international symposium held at Barcelona (January 28–30, 1998) (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 15), Barcelona.
- Demakopoulou, K. 1996
The Aidonia Treasure: seals and jewellery of the Aegean Late Bronze Age, Athens.
- Demargne, P. 1930
‘Bijoux minoens de Mallia’, *BCH* 54, 404–21.
- Demargne, P. 1945
Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: exploration des nécropoles (1921–1933) (Études Crétoises 7), Paris.
- Didioui, S. 1995
‘Καρδάμανα’, *ArchDelt* 50, Chronika, 828–30.
- Dierckx, H.M.C. 2008
‘Chipped and ground stone implements’, in Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 562–6.
- Dikaios, S. 1953
Khirokitia. Final report on the excavation of a Neolithic settlement in Cyprus on behalf of the Department of Antiquities 1936–1946, Oxford.
- Dornemann, R.H. 1979
‘Tell Hadidi: a millennium of Bronze Age city occupation’, in *Archaeological reports from the Tabqa*

- Dam Project: Euphrates Valley, Syria*, D. Freedman (ed.), (AASOR 44), Cambridge, 115–51.
- Doumas, Ch. & A.G. Constantinides 1990
‘Pithoi, size and symbols: some preliminary considerations on the Akrotiri evidence’, in Hardy *et al.* 1990, vol. 1, 41–3.
- Driessen, J. 1982
‘The Minoan hall in domestic architecture on Crete: to be in vogue in Late Minoan IA?’, *ActaArchLov* 21, 27–74.
- Driessen, J. 1989–1990
‘The proliferation of Minoan palatial architectural style (1): Crete’, *ActaArchLov* 28–29, 3–23.
- Driessen, J. 2001
‘History and hierarchy: preliminary observations on the settlement pattern of Minoan Crete’, in Branigan 2001a, 51–71.
- Driessen, J. 2002
“‘The king must die’”: some observations on the use of Minoan court compounds’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 1–14.
- Driessen, J. 2010
‘Spirit of place: Minoan houses as major actors’, in *Political economies of the Aegean Bronze Age. Papers from the Langford conference (Florida State University, Tallahassee, 22–24 February 2007)*, D.J. Pullen (ed.), Oxford, 35–65.
- Driessen, J. forthcoming
‘Beyond the collective. The Minoan palace in action’, in *From the foundations to the legacy of Minoan society, Sheffield Aegean round table in honour of Professor Keith Branigan*, M. Relaki & Y. Papadatos (eds.), (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology), Oxford.
- Driessen, J. & C.F. Macdonald 1997
The troubled island: Minoan Crete before and after the Santorini eruption (Aegaeum 17), Liège.
- Driessen, J. & J.A. MacGillivray 1989
‘The Neopalatial period in East Crete’, in Laffineur 1989, 99–113.
- Driessen, J. & J. Sakellarakis 1997
‘The Vathypetro-complex: some observations on its architectural history and function’, in Hägg 1997, 63–77.
- Driessen, J., I. Schoep & R. Laffineur (eds.) 2002
Monuments of Minos: rethinking the Minoan palaces. Proceedings of the international workshop ‘Crete of the hundred palaces?’ held at the Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve, 14–15 December 2001 (Aegaeum 23), Liège & Austin.
- Dunand, M. 1950
Fouilles de Byblos 1933–38, vol. II, Paris.
- Dunand, M. 1973
Fouilles de Byblos, vol. 5: L’architecture, les tombes, le matériel domestique, des origines Néolithiques à l’avènement urbain, Paris.
- Dunham, S. 1993
‘Bead for babies’, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 83, 237–57.
- Effinger, M. 1996
Minoischer Schmuck (BAR-IS 646), Oxford.
- Emerson, T.E. 1997
Cahokia and the architecture of power, Tuscaloosa.
- Erkanal, H. & L. Keskin 2009
‘Relations between the Urla peninsula and the Minoan world’, in *The Minoans in the central, eastern and northern Aegean – new evidence: acts of a Minoan Seminar 22–23 January 2005 in collaboration with the Danish Institute at Athens and the German Archaeological Institute at Athens*, C.F. Macdonald, E. Hallager & W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 8), Athens, 97–110.
- Evans, A.J. 1909
Scripta Minoa I. The hieroglyphic and primitive linear classes, Oxford.
- Evans, A.J. 1928
The palace of Minos at Knossos, vol. II, London.
- Evans, J.D. 1964
‘Excavations in the Neolithic settlement of Knossos 1957–60. Part I’, *BSA* 59, 132–240.
- Evans, J.D. 1974
‘The archaeological evidence and its interpretation: some suggested approaches to the problem of the Aegean Bronze Age’, in *Bronze Age migrations in the Aegean*, R.A. Crossland & A. Birchall (eds.), London, 17–26.
- Evely, R.D.G. 2000
Minoan crafts: tools and techniques. An introduction, Vol. II (SIMA 92:2), Jonsered.
- Evely, D., H. Hughes-Brock & N. Momigliano (eds.) 1994
Knossos: a labyrinth of history. Papers in honour of Sinclair Hood, London.
- Fedalto, G. 1973
La chiesa Latina in Oriente, vol. I (Studi Religiosi 3), Verona.
- Ferrence, S.C. 2008
Lasithi before the new palaces: a study of selected elite artifacts from the Hagios Charalambos cave, Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, Philadelphia.
- Fischer, P. 1949
‘Rôle des coquillages dans les

- premières civilisations humains’, *Journal de Conchyliologie* 89, 82–157.
- Fischer, W., M.L. Bauchot & M. Schneider (eds.) 1987
Fiches FAO d’identification des espèces pour les besoins de la pêche-Méditerranée et Mer Noire-Zone de pêche 37, Révision 1. Vol. I: Végétaux et invertébrés, Rome.
- Fitton, J.L. 2009
The Aigina Treasure: Aegean Bronze Age jewellery and a mystery revisited, London.
- Floyd, C. 1997
‘The alternating floral style as evidence for pottery workshops in East Crete during the Protopalatial period’, in Laffineur & Betancourt 1997, 313–6.
- François, V. 1994
‘La céramique à glaçure à Malia: productions médiévales italiennes et productions ottomanes’, *BCH* 118, 375–87.
- François, V. 1998
‘La céramique médiévale d’Alexandrie: Kom el-Dikka et Kom el-Nadoura, deux dépotoirs de la période Islamique’, in *Colloque International d’Archéologie islamique (Le Caire, 3–7 février 1993)*, R.-P. Gayraud (ed.), (Textes arabes et études islamiques 36), Paris, 319–34.
- Fugmann, E. 1958
L’architecture des périodes pré-Hellénistiques. Hama: fouilles et recherches, 1931–1938, vol. 2, part 1, Copenhagen.
- Galanaki, K. 2006
‘Πρωτομινωικό ταφικό σύνολο στην πρώην Αμερικανική Βάση Γουρνών Πεδιάδος’, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A2, Herakleion, 227–42.
- Gates, C. 1999
‘Why are there no scenes of warfare in Minoan art?’, in Laffineur 1999, 277–83.
- Germain, L. 1924
‘Les animaux marins d’après les écrivains et les artistes de l’Antiquité’, *Bulletin de la Société d’Océanographie de France* 15–17, 359–93.
- Gerola, G. 1908
Monumenti veneti nell’isola di Creta, vol. II, Venezia.
- Girella, L. 2002
‘Vasi rituali con elementi miniaturizzati a Creta, in Egeo e nel Mediterraneo orientale alla fine dell’età del bronzo. Indicatori archeologici ed etnici’, *Creta Antica* 3, 168–215.
- Girella, L. 2003
‘Un pitharaki MM III dal nuovo “Settore Nord-Est” di Haghia Triada’, *Creta Antica* 4, 343–58.
- Goodison, L. 1989
Death, women and the sun. Symbolism of regeneration in early Aegean religion (BICS Suppl. 53), London.
- Gopher A. & E. Orrelle 1995a
‘New data on burials from the Pottery Neolithic period (sixth–fifth millennium BC) Israel’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 24–9.
- Gopher A. & E. Orrelle 1995b
‘Preliminary report on excavations of Nahal Zehora II – seasons 1990–1991’, *Mitekufat Haeven* 23, 169–72.
- Graham, J.W. 1972
The palaces of Crete, Princeton.
- Grajetzki, W. 2003
Burial customs in ancient Egypt: life in death for rich and poor, London.
- Grasso, L. 2004
‘Ceramica miniaturistica da Pompei’, *Quaderni Di ‘Ostraka’* 9, 15–20.
- Grasso, L. 2006
‘La ceramica miniaturistica: un tentativo di definizione’, in *Archeologie: studi in onore di Tiziano Mannoni*, N. Cucuzza & M. Medri (eds.), Bari, 321–6.
- Greene, M. 2000
A shared world: Christians and Muslims in the early modern Mediterranean, Princeton.
- Gregory, T.E. 1989
‘Late Byzantine pottery from Isthmia: new evidence from the Korinthia’, in *Recherches sur la céramique Byzantine. Actes du colloque organisé par l’École Française d’Athènes et l’Université de Strasbourg II (Athènes, 8–10 avril 1987)*, V. Deroche & J.-M. Spieser (eds.), (BCH Suppl. XVIII), Athens, 201–8.
- Günsenin, N. 1989
‘Recherches sur les amphores Byzantines dans les musées Turcs’, in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, V. Deroche & J.-M. Spieser (eds.), (BCH Suppl. XVIII), Athens, 267–76.
- Günsenin, N. 2009
‘Ganos wine and its circulation in the 11th century’, in *Byzantine trade, 4th–12th centuries*, M. Mandell Mango (ed.), Surrey, 145–53.
- Hägg, R. (ed.) 1997
The function of the “Minoan villa”. *Proceedings of the eighth international symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 6–8 June 1992* (SkrAth 4^o, 46), Stockholm.
- Hägg, R. & N. Marinatos (eds.) 1987
The function of the Minoan palaces. Proceedings of the fourth international

- symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10–16 June 1984* (SkrAth 4°, 35), Stockholm.
- Haggis, D.C. 1999
‘Staple finance, peak sanctuaries, and economic complexity in Late Prepalatial Crete’, in Chaniotis 1999, 53–86.
- Haggis, D.C. 2000
‘Coarse ware ceramic distribution in the North Isthmus of Ierapetra in the Bronze Age’, in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Congress (Herakleion, 9th–14th September 1996)*, A1, Herakleion, 535–43.
- Haggis, D.C. 2002
‘Integration and complexity in the Late Pre-palatial period. A view from the countryside in eastern Crete’, in Hamilakis 2002b, 120–42.
- Haggis, D. 2007
‘Stylistic diversity and diacritical feasting at Protopalatial Petras: a preliminary analysis of the Lakkos deposit’, *AJA* 111, 715–75.
- Haggis, D.C. forthcoming
‘The relevance of survey data as evidence for settlement structure in Prepalatial Crete’, in *From the foundations to the legacy of Minoan society, Sheffield Aegean Round Table in honour of Professor Keith Branigan*, M. Relaki & Y. Papadatos (eds.), (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology), Oxford.
- Hahn, M. 1997
‘Modern Greek, Turkish and Venetian periods’, in *The Greek-Swedish excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania, 1970–1987*, vol. I:1, E. Hallager & B.P. Hallager (eds.), (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1), Stockholm, 79–192.
- Haider, P.W. 2001
‘Minoan deities in an Egyptian medical text’, in Laffineur & Hägg 2001, 479–82.
- Hall, E.H. 1912
Excavations in eastern Crete. Sphoungaras, Philadelphia.
- Hallager B.P. & P.J.P McGeorge 1992
Late Minoan burials at Khania: the tombs, finds and deceased in Odos Palama (SIMA 93), Göteborg.
- Hallager, E. 1995
‘Four inscribed hanging nodules in the Heraklion Museum’, in *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1, 9–19.
- Hallager, E. 2002
‘Wine and pithoi: written and archaeological evidence’, in *Οίνος παλαιός ηδύποτος. Το κρητικό κρασί από τα προϊστορικά ως τα νεότερα χρόνια, Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επισημονικού Συμποσίου*, Aik. Mylopotamitaki (ed.), (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Κρήτης, Αρ. 1), Herakleion, 61–8.
- Hallager, E. 2010
‘The archival documents’, in Tsiropoulou & Hallager 2010, 69–132.
- Hallager, E. 2011
‘On the origin of Linear B administration’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress, Khania 2006 (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 317–29.
- Hallager E. & B. Pålsson-Hallager 1995
‘The Knossian bull – political propaganda in Neopalatial Crete?’, in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 547–56.
- Hallager, E. & B.P. Hallager (eds.) 1997
Late Minoan III pottery. Chronology and terminology. Acts of a meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens (August 12–14 1994) (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1), Athens.
- Hallager, E. & B.P. Hallager 2003
The Greek-Swedish excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Khania 1970–1986 and 2001, Vol III:1, The Late Minoan IIIB:2 settlement (SkrAth 4° 47/3 i-ii), Stockholm.
- Hamilakis, Y. 1998
‘Eating the dead: mortuary feasting and the politics of memory in the Aegean Bronze Age societies’, in Branigan 1998a, Sheffield, 115–32.
- Hamilakis, Y. 2002a
‘Too many chiefs? Factional competition in Neopalatial Crete’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 179–99.
- Hamilakis, Y. (ed.) 2002b
Labyrinth revisited. Rethinking ‘Minoan’ archaeology, Oxford.
- Hardy, D.A. et al. (eds.) 1990
Thera and the Aegean world III. Proceedings of the 3rd international congress (Santorini, Greece, 3–9 September 1989), vols. 1–3, London.
- Hastorf, C.A. 1993
Agriculture and the onset of political inequality before the Inka, Cambridge.
- Hatzaki, E. 2007a
‘Neopalatial (MM IIIB – LM IB): KS 178, Gypsades Well (Upper Deposit) and SEX North House Groups’, in Momigliano 2007, 151–96.
- Hatzaki, E. 2007b
‘Final Palatial (LM II-III A2), and Postpalatial (LM IIIB-LM IIIC early): the MUM South Sector, Long Corridor Cists, MUM Pits

- (8, 10–11), Makritikhos “Kitchen”, MUM North Platform Pits and SEX Southern Half Groups’, in Momigliano 2007, 198–253.
- Hawes, H. Boyd, B.E. Williams, R.B. Seager & E.H. Hall 1908 *Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete. Excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp Expeditions 1901, 1903, 1904*, Philadelphia.
- Hayden, B.J. 2003 ‘Final Neolithic – Early Minoan I/IIA settlement in the Vrokastro area, eastern Crete’, *AJA* 107, 363–412.
- Hayden, B. & A. Cannon 1982 ‘The corporate group as an archaeological unit’, *JAnthArch* 1, 132–58.
- Hayes, J.W. 1972 *Late Roman pottery*, Oxford.
- Hayes, J.W. 1992 *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul II: the pottery*, Princeton.
- Hayes, J.W. 2001 ‘Early Christian pottery from Knossos: the 1978–1981 finds from the Knossos Medical Faculty Site’, *BSA* 96, 431–54.
- Heltzer, M.L. 1989 ‘Some questions of the Ugaritic metrology and its parallels in Judah, Phoenicia, Mesopotamia and Greece’, *Ugarit Forschungen* 21, 195–208.
- Hickman, J. 2008a *Gold before the palaces: crafting jewelry and social identity in Minoan Crete*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Hickman, J. 2008b ‘The gold strips’, in Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 561–2.
- Higgins, R.A. 1980 *Greek and Roman jewelry*, Berkeley & Los Angeles.
- Hilditch, J. 2007 ‘Petrological analysis of the ceramics from Kavos, Keros’, in *Keros, Dhaskalio Kavos. The investigations of 1987–88*, C. Renfrew, C. Doumas, L. Marangou & G. Gavalas (eds.), Cambridge, 238–63.
- Hiller, S. 1999 ‘Scenes of warfare and combat in the arts of Aegean Late Bronze Age. Reflections on typology and development’, in Laffineur 1999, 319–30.
- Hiller, S. 2001 ‘Potnia/Potnios Aigon. On the religious aspects of the goat in the Aegean Bronze Age’, in Laffineur & Hägg, 293–304.
- Hillson, S. 1996 *Dental anthropology*, Cambridge.
- Hodder, I. 1990 *The domestication of Europe: structure and contingency in Neolithic societies*, Oxford.
- Hodder, I. 1999 *The archaeological process*, Oxford.
- Hogarth, D.G. 1899–1900 ‘Knossos: II. Early town and cemeteries’, *BSA* 6, 70–84.
- Hood, M.S.F. 1990a ‘Settlers in Crete c. 3000 BC’, *Cretan Studies* 2, 150–8.
- Hood, M.S.F. 1990b ‘Autochthons or settlers? Evidence for immigration at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age in Crete’, in *Proceedings of the 6th International Cretological Conference (Khania, August 1986)*, A1, Khania, 367–75.
- Hood, S. 2010 ‘The Middle Minoan cemetery on Ailias at Knossos’, in Krzyszkowska 2010a, 161–8.
- Hooker, J.T. 1980 *Linear B: an introduction*, Bristol.
- Howison, J., A. Wiggins & K. Crowston 2008 ‘E-research workflows for studying free and open source software development’, *Paper presented at the Open Source Software conference in Milan*.
- Hughes, D.D. 1991 *Human sacrifice in ancient Greece*, London & New York, 18–26.
- Hughes-Brock, H. 1995 ‘Seals and beads. Their shapes and materials compared’, in *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, I. Pini & J.-C. Poursat (eds.), (CMS Beiheft 5), Berlin, 105–16.
- Iakovides, Sp. 1969–1970 *Περατή: τό νεκροταφείον* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας 67), Athens.
- Ilan, D. 1995 ‘Mortuary practices at Tel Dan in the Middle Bronze Age: a reflection of Canaanite society and ideology’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 117–39.
- Immerwahr, S.A. 1990 *Aegean painting in the Bronze Age*, London.
- Isaakidou, V. & P. Tomkins (eds.) 2008 *Escaping the labyrinth. The Cretan Neolithic in context* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 8), Oxford.
- Jacobsen, T.W. 1973 ‘Excavations at Franchthi Cave, 1969–71, Part II’, *Hesperia* 42, 253–83.

- Jasink, A.M. 2009
Cretan hieroglyphic seals. A new classification of symbols and ornamental/filling motifs (Biblioteca di 'Pasiphae' 8), Pisa & Rome.
- Johnston, F.E. 1962
'Growth of long bones of infants and children at Indian Knoll', *AJPA* 20, 249–54.
- Johnson, M. 1996
An archaeology of capitalism, Oxford & Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Kakrides, I.Th. 1987
Ελληνική μυθολογία: οι Θεοί, vol. 2, Athens.
- Kalomenopoulos, P. 1894
Κρητικά, Athens.
- Karali, L. 1999
Shells in Aegean prehistory (BAR-IS 761), Oxford.
- Karantazali, E. 1997
'Στοιχεία Πρωτομινωικής κατοίκησης στα Νοπήγεια Κισάμου', *ArchDelt* 47–48, Meletes, 66–81.
- Karetsou A., M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki & N. Papadakis (eds.) 2000
Crete-Egypt, cultural connections over three millennia. Catalogue, Herakleion (in Greek).
- Karetsou, A., L. Godart & J.-P. Olivier 1985
'Inscriptions en Linéaire A du sanctuaire de sommet Minoen du Mont Iouktas', *Kadmos* 24, 89–147.
- Karnava, A. 2000
The Cretan hieroglyphic script of the second millennium BC: description, analysis, function and decipherment perspectives, vols. I–II, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Brussels, Brussels.
- Katiferi, M. 2010
'Ανασκαφή στο Ναό των Αγίων Αποστόλων στην Κάτω Επισκοπή Σητείας: επίσκεψη σε ένα Βυζαντινό λουτρό', in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 1: Πρακτικά της 1ης συνάντησης, (Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008)*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymnon, 211–22.
- Katsa-Tomara, L. 1990
'The pottery-producing system at Akrotiri: an index of exchange and social activity', in Hardy *et al.* 1990, vol. 1, 31–40.
- Katzenberg, M.A., D.A. Herring & S.R. Saunders 1996
'Weaning and infant mortality: evaluating the skeletal evidence', *AJPA* 39, 177–99.
- Klengel-Brandt, E., S. Kulemann-Ossen, L. Martin & R.-B. Wartke 1997
'Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Vorderasiatischen Museums auf Tall Knedig/NO-Syrien, Ergebnisse der Kampagnen 1995 und 1996', *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 129, 39–87.
- Knappett, C. 1999
'Assessing a polity in Protopalatial Crete: the Malia-Lasithi state', *AJA* 103, 615–39.
- Knappett, C. 2009
'Scaling up: from household to state in Bronze Age Crete', in *Inside the city in the Greek world: studies of urbanism from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period*, S. Owen & L. Preston (eds.), (University of Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology Monographs 1), Oxford, 14–26.
- Knappett, C. forthcoming
'Meaning in miniature: semiotic networks in material culture', in *Excavating the mind*, M. Jessen, N. Johannsen, & H. Juel Jensen (eds.).
- Knappett, C. & A. Collar 2007
'Unpublished Middle Minoan and Late Minoan I material from the 1962–3 excavations at Palaikastro, Crete (PK VIII)', *BSA* 102, 153–217.
- Knappett, C. & T.F. Cunningham 2003
'Three Neopalatial deposits from Palaikastro, East Crete', *BSA* 90, 107–87.
- Kollias, I. 2004
Η Ρόδος από τον 4^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. μέχρι την κατάληψή της από τους Τούρκους (1522): Παλάτι Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου, Athens.
- Kolonas, L. 1985
'Νομός Αχαΐας, Χαλανδριτσά', *ArchDelt* 40, Chronika, 138.
- Kolonas, L. & M. Gazis 2006
'Ο Μυκηναϊκός οικισμός της Χαλανδριτσας, νεότερα στοιχεία', in *Πρακτικά 1^{ης} Αρχαιολογικής Συνόδου Νότιας και Δυτικής Ελλάδος (Πάτρα, 9–12 Ιουνίου 1996)*, Athens, 27.
- Kontorli-Papadopoulou, L. 1999
'Fresco fighting scenes as evidence for warlike activities in the LBA Aegean', in Laffineur 1999, 331–9.
- Kopaka, C. 1984
Aménagements intérieurs des habitations et activités domestiques en Crète et à Thera à l'Âge du Bronze. Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Paris I, Paris.
- Kopaka, K. & L. Platon 1993
'Ληνοί Μινωικοί. Installations minoennes de traitement des produits liquides', *BCH* 117, 35–101.
- Koşay, H.Z. 1944
Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük, Ankara.
- Kountoura-Galaki, E. 1996
'Η «Εικονοπλαστική» NOTITIA

- 3 και το λατινικό της πρότυπο', *Σύμμεικτα* 10, 45–73.
- Krattenmaker, K. 1995
'Architecture in glyptic cult scenes in Minoan examples', in *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens: IV^e symposium international, 10–12 septembre 1992, Clermont-Ferrand*, W. Müller (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 5), Berlin, 117–33.
- Krzyszowska, O.H. 1989
'Early Cretan seals: new evidence for the use of bone, ivory and boar's tusk', in *Fragen und Probleme der bronzzeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik*, I. Pini (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 3), Berlin, 111–26.
- Krzyszowska, O. 2005
Aegean seals. An introduction (BICS Suppl. 85), London.
- Krzyszowska, O. (ed.) 2010a
Cretan offerings. Studies in honour of Peter Warren (British School at Athens Studies 18), London.
- Krzyszowska, O.H. 2010b
'Material matters: some challenges past, present and future for Aegean glyptic', in *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, W. Müller (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 8), Mainz, 249–57.
- Krzyszowska, O. & L. Nixon (eds.) 1983
Minoan society. Proceedings of the Cambridge colloquium (1981), Bristol.
- Lacovara, P. 2008
'The burial of Queen Ahhotep', in *Beyond Babylon: art, trade, and diplomacy in the second millennium BC*, J. Aruz, K. Benzel & J.M. Evans (eds.), New Haven and London, 119–22.
- Laffineur, R. 1987
THANATOS: les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'âge du Bronze. Actes du colloque de Liège, 21–23 avril 1986. (Aegaeum 1), Liège.
- Laffineur, R. (ed.) 1989
Transition. Le monde Égéen du Bronze moyen au Bronze récent. Actes de la deuxième rencontre égéenne internationale de l'Université de Liège, 18–20 avril 1988 (Aegaeum 3), Liège.
- Laffineur, R. (ed.) 1999
POLEMOS: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze, Actes de la 7^e rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14–17 avril 1998 (Aegaeum 19:I–II), Liège & Austin.
- Laffineur, R. & J.L. Crowley (eds.) 1992
EIKΩN: Aegean Bronze Age iconography: shaping a methodology. Proceedings of the 4th international Aegean conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6–9 April 1992. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège (Aegaeum 8), Liège.
- Laffineur, R. & R. Hägg (eds.) 2001
POTNIA: Deities and religion in the Aegean Bronze Age, Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference / 8^e rencontre égéenne internationale, Göteborg, Göteborg University, 12–15 April 2000 (Aegaeum 22), Liège/Austin.
- Laffineur, R. & W.-D. Niemeier (eds.) 1995
POLITEIA: Society and state in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10–13 April 1994 (Aegaeum 12), Liège & Austin.
- Laiou, A. 2005
'The Byzantine village (5th–14th century)', in *Les villages dans l'empire Byzantine, IV^e–XV^e siècle*, J. Lefort, C. Morrisson & J.-P. Sodini (eds.), (Réalités Byzantines 11), Paris, 31–54.
- Lake, D.A. 2009
'Hobbesian hierarchy: the political economy of political organization,' *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, 263–83.
- Lang, M. 1964
'Pylos pots and the Mycenaean units of capacity', in *The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1963*, C.W. Blegen & M. Lang (eds.), *AJA* 68, 93–105.
- Lang, M.L. 1969
The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in western Messenia, vol.II: the frescoes, Princeton.
- Laskaris, N. 2000
Monuments funéraires paléochrétiens et byzantins de Grèce, Athens.
- Lefort, J. 2002
'The rural economy, seventh–twelfth centuries', in *The economic history of Byzantium: from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, A. Laiou (ed.), Washington D.C., 231–310.
- Lefort, J. 2006
'Η αγροτική οικονομία (7^{ος}–12^{ος} αιώνας)', in *Οικονομική Ιστορία του Βυζαντίου. Από τον 7^ο έως τον 15^ο αιώνα*, A. Laiou (ed.), Athens, 377–494.
- Leon, G.B. 1972
'Ελληνική έμπορική ναυτιλία (1453–1850)', in *Ελληνική έμπορική ναυτιλία (1453–1850)*, S.A. Papadopoulos (ed.), Athens, 13–48.
- Lilyquist, C. 1993
'Granulation and glass: chronological and stylistic investigations at selected sites, ca. 2500–1400 B.C.E.', *BASOR* 290–291, 29–94.
- Lyman, R.L. 1994
'Quantitative units and terminology in zooarchaeology', *American Antiquity* 59, 36–71.

- Macdonald, C.F. 2000
'Knossos: present and future', in *Cretan quests. British explorers, excavators and historians*, D. Huxley (ed.), London, 61–8.
- Macdonald, C.F. & C. Knappett 2007
Knossos: Protopalatial deposits in Early Magazine A and the South-West House (BSA Suppl. 41), London.
- MacGillivray, J.A. 1998
Knossos: pottery groups of the Old Palace Period (British School at Athens Studies 5), London.
- MacGillivray, J.A. 2007
'Protopalatial (MM IB–MM IIIA): Early Chamber beneath the West Court, Royal Pottery Stores, the Trial KV, and the West and South polychrome deposits groups', in Momigliano 2007, 105–49.
- MacGillivray, J.A. & J. Driessen 1990
'Minoan settlement at Palaikastro', in Darcque & Treuil 1990, 395–412.
- MacGillivray, J.A., L.H. Sackett, J. Driessen, C. Macdonald & D. Smyth 1988
'Excavations at Palaikastro, 1987', *BSA* 83, 259–82.
- MacGillivray, J.A., L.H. Sackett, J. Driessen, R. Bridges & D. Smyth 1989
'Excavations at Palaikastro, 1988', *BSA* 84, 417–45.
- MacGillivray, J.A. L.H. Sackett, J.M. Driessen 2007
Palaikastro: two Late Minoan wells (BSA Suppl. 43), London.
- Maggidis, C. 1994
Burial Building 19 at Archanes: a study of Prepalatial and Early Protopalatial funerary architecture and ritual, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Maisels, C. 2010
The archaeology of politics and power, Oxford & Oakville.
- Malamut, E. 1988
Les îles de l'empire Byzantin, Paris.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1936
'The excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar and an archaeological survey of the Habur region 1934–35', *Iraq* 3, 1–87.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1937
'The excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar and an archaeological survey of the Habur region. Second campaign 1936', *Iraq* 4, 91–177.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1947
'Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar', *Iraq* 9, 1–259.
- Mannino, M.A. & K.D. Thomas 2002
'Depletion of a resource? The impact of prehistoric human foraging on intertidal mollusc communities and its significance for human settlement, mobility and dispersal', *World Archaeology* 33, 452–74.
- Manteli, K. 1992
'The Neolithic well at Kastelli Phournis in eastern Crete', *BSA* 87, 103–20.
- Marinatos, N. 1986
Minoan sacrificial ritual. Cult practices and symbolism, Stockholm.
- Marinatos, N. 1989
'The tree as focus of ritual action in Minoan glyptic art', in *Fragen und Probleme der Bronzezeitlichen Ägäischen Glyptik. 3. Internationalen Marburger Siegel-Symposium 5.–7. September 1985*, I. Pini (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 3), Berlin, 127–43.
- Marinatos, N. 1990
'The tree, the stone, and the pithos: glimpses into a Minoan ritual', in *Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège. Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique*, R. Laffineur (ed.), (Aegaeum 6), Liège, 79–92.
- Marinatos, N. 1993
Minoan religion. Ritual, image and symbol, Columbia.
- Marinatos, N. 2005
'The ideals of manhood in Minoan Crete', in *Aegean wall painting. A tribute to Mark Cameron*, L. Morgan (ed.), (BSA Suppl. 13), London, 149–58.
- Marinatos, S. 1929
'Πρωτομινωικός θολωτός τάφος παρά τὸ χωριὸν Κράσι Πεδιάδος', *ArchDelt* 12, 102–41.
- Marinatos, S. 1930
'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ', *Prakt* 1930, 91–9.
- Marinatos, S. 1930–1931
'Δύο πρώιμοι μινωικοὶ τάφοι ἐκ Βορροῦ Μεσσαράς', *ArchDelt* 13, Chronika, 137–70.
- Marchetti, C. 1994
'Anthropological invariants in travel behaviour', *Technological forecasting and social change* 47, 75–88.
- Martin, L. & R.B. Wartke 1993–1994
'Tall Abu Hgaira 1987–1990', *Archiv für Orientforschung* 40–41, 200–15.
- Matthiae, P. 2008
'Ebla', in *Beyond Babylon: art, trade, and diplomacy in the second millennium BC*, J. Aruz, K. Benzel & J.M. Evans (eds.), New Haven and London, 34–41.
- Matthiae, P., F. Pinnock & G. Scandone Matthiae (eds.) 1995
Ebla: alle origini della civiltà urbana, Milan.

- Mavroudi, N. 2004
Προσεγγίσεις της οικιακής αρχιτεκτονικής στην Κρήτη κατά την Νεοανακτορική περίοδο: το παράδειγμα του Σπιτιού II στον Πετρά Σητείας. MA Thesis, University of Crete, Rethymnon, Institutional Repository, Library Information Center:
http://elocus.lib.uoc.gr/dlib/6/8/a/metadata-dlib-f2d2582fde3cd39192a1da99446953b0_1241687914.tkl
- Mavroudi, N. 2011
‘Interpreting domestic space in Neopalatial Crete: a few thoughts on House II at Petras, Siteia’, in *ΣΤΕΓΑ: The archaeology of houses and households in ancient Crete*, K.T. Glowacki & N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), (Hesperia Suppl. 44), Princeton, 119–24.
- McClellan, T. & A. Porter 1997
‘Banat’ in ‘Archaeology in Syria’, H. Weiss (ed.), *AJA* 101, 106–8.
- McClellan T. & A. Porter 1999
‘Survey of excavations at Tell Banat: funerary practices’, in Del Olmo Lette & Montero Fenollos 1999, 107–16.
- McEnroe, J.C. 1982
‘A typology of Minoan Neopalatial houses’, *AJA* 86, 3–19.
- McEnroe, J.C. 1990
‘The significance of local styles in Minoan vernacular architecture’, in Darcque & Treuil 1990, 195–202.
- McEnroe, J.C. 2010
Architecture of Minoan Crete. Constructing identity in the Aegean Bronze Age, Austin.
- McGeorge, P.J.P. 1988
‘Μυθικοί πυγμαίοι και γίγαντες: νέα στοιχεία για το ύψος των Μινωιτών’, *Κρητική Εστία* 2, 10–8.
- McGeorge, P.J.P. 2003
‘Intramural infant burials in the Aegean’, in Hallager & Hallager 2003, 301–3.
- McGeorge P.J.P. 2008
‘Morbidity and medical practice in Minoan Crete’, in Andreadaki-Vlazaki *et al.* 2008, 118–27.
- McGovern, P. 1985
Late Bronze Palestinian pendants: innovation in a cosmopolitan age (JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series 1), Sheffield.
- McMahon A., O. Tunca & A. Bagdo 2001
‘New excavations at Chagar Bazar 1999–2000’, *Iraq* 63, 201–22.
- Metaxa-Prokopiou, N. 1994
‘Σύβριτος Αμαρίου. Η μετάβαση από το τέλος της Εποχής του Χαλκού στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου’, in Rocchetti 1994a, 249–54.
- Michailidou, A. 1986
‘Το δωμάτιο με τον κίονα στο μινωικό σπιτί’, in *Αμητός, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Μανώλη Ανδρόνικο*, Thessaloniki, 509–25.
- Militello, P. 2012
‘Emerging authority: a functional analysis of the MM II settlement of Phaistos’, in Schoep, Tomkins & Driessen 2012, 236–72.
- Milner, N., J. Barrett & J. Welsh 2007
‘Marine resource identification in Viking Age Europe: the molluscan evidence from Quoygrew, Orkney’, *JAS* 34, 1461–72.
- Molist, M. 1999
‘Tell Hallula: un village des premier agriculteurs-éleveurs dans la vallée de l’Ephrate’, in Del Olmo Lette & Montero Fenollos 1999, 27–40.
- Momigliano, N. (ed.) 2007
Knossos pottery handbook. Neolithic and Bronze Age (Minoan) (British School at Athens Studies 14), London.
- Moody, J.A. 1987
The environmental and cultural prehistory of the Khandia region of West Crete: Neolithic through Late Minoan III, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Moore, J.D. 1996
Architecture and power in the ancient Andes. The archaeology of public buildings, Cambridge.
- Moore, A.M.T., G.C. Hillman & A.J. Legge (eds.) 2000
Village on the Euphrates: from foraging to farming at Abu Hureyra, Oxford.
- Moore, A.M.T. & T.I. Molleson 2000
‘Disposal of the dead’, in Moore, Hillman & Legge 2000, 277–99.
- Morgan, C.H. 1942
Corinth XI: the Byzantine pottery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Morgan, L. 1995
‘Frontal face and the symbolism of death in Aegean glyptic’, in *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens: IV^e symposium international, 10–12 septembre 1992, Clermont-Ferrand*, W. Müller (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 5), Berlin, 135–49.
- Morrison, J.E. T.M. Brogan, Ch. Sofianou & D. Mylonas forthcoming
‘Cooking up new perspectives for Late Minoan domestic activities: an experimental approach to understanding the possibilities and the probabilities of ancient cook-pot use’, in *Ceramics, cuisine and culture: the archaeology and science of kitchen pottery in the ancient Mediterranean world. International Symposium at the British Museum, 17–20 December 2010*.

- Mortzos, C. 1972
‘Πάρτιρα, μία πρώιμος μινωική κεραμεική ομάδα’, *Επετηρίδα Επιστημονικών Ερευνών Γ'*, 386–421.
- Muhly, J.D. 2008a
‘Ayia Photia and the Cycladic element in Early Minoan metallurgy’, in *Aegean metallurgy in the Bronze Age, Proceedings of an international symposium held at the University of Crete (Rethymnon, 19–21 November 2004)*, I. Tzachili, (ed.), Athens, 69–74.
- Muhly, J.D. 2008b
‘The metal artifacts’, in Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 557–60.
- Muhly, J.D. forthcoming
‘11. Objects of gold, silver, and lead’, in *Hagios Charalambos cave I: the excavation and portable objects*, P.P. Betancourt, C. Davaras & E. Stravopodi (eds.), (Prehistory Monographs), Philadelphia.
- Muhly, P. 1992
Μινωικός λαξευτός τάφος στον Πόρο Ηρακλείου (ανασκαφής 1967) (Greek Archaeological Society Monograph 129), Athens.
- Munchaev, R.N., N.Y. Merpert, N.O. Bader & S.N. Amirov 1993
‘Tell Hazna II’, *Rossiiskaya arheologia* 4, 25–42.
- Murphy, J.M. 1998
‘Ideologies, rites and rituals: a view of Prepalatial Minoan tholoi’, in Branigan 1998a, 27–40.
- Murphy, J.M. (ed.) 2011a
Prehistoric Crete. Regional and diachronic studies on mortuary systems, Philadelphia.
- Murphy, J.M. 2011b
‘Introduction’, in Murphy 2011a, 1–22.
- Murphy, J.M. 2011c
‘Landscape and social narratives: a study of regional social structures in Prepalatial Crete’, in Murphy 2011a, 23–47.
- Mylona, D. 2003
‘Archaeological fish remains in Greece: general trends of the research and a gazetteer of sites’, in *Zooarchaeology in Greece. Recent advances*, E. Kotjabopoulou, Y. Hamilakis, P. Halstead, C. Gamble & P. Elefanti (eds.), (British School at Athens Studies 9), Athens, 193–200.
- Mylona, D. 2010
‘The bones’, in Tsipopoulou & Hallager 2010, 221–31.
- Mylopotamitaki, C.C. 1986
‘Ο ναός των Αγίων Γεωργίου και Χαράλαμπου στην Επισκοπή Ιεράπετρας’, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 12, 441–52.
- Negbi, O. 1970
The hoards of goldwork from Tell el-'Ajjul (SIMA 25), Göteborg.
- Neimeier, W.-D. 1981
‘Probleme der Datierung von Siegelen nach Kontexten’, in *Studien zur minoischen und mykenischen Glyptic*, I. Pini (ed.), (CMS Suppl. 1), Berlin, 91–103.
- Nodarou, E. 2007
‘Exploring patterns of intra regional pottery distribution in Late Minoan IIIA–B East Crete: the evidence from the petrographic analysis of three ceramic assemblages’, in *Archaeometric and archaeological approaches to ceramics: papers presented at EMAC '05, 8th European Meeting on Ancient Ceramics Lyon 2005*, C.Y. Waksman (ed.), (BAR–IS 1691), Oxford, 75–83.
- Nodarou, E. 2011
Pottery production, distribution and consumption in Early Minoan West Crete: an analytical perspective, (BAR–IS 2210), Oxford.
- Nodarou, E. forthcoming
‘Petrographic analysis of the Early Minoan pottery from Aphrodite’s Kephali’, in *Aphrodite’s Kephali: an Early Minoan I defensive site in eastern Crete*, P.P. Betancourt (ed.), (Prehistory Monographs), Philadelphia.
- Nowicki, K. 1994
‘Some remarks on Pre- and Protopalatial peak sanctuaries in Crete’, *Aegean Archaeology* 1, 31–48.
- Nowicki, K. 2000
Defensible sites in Crete c. 1200–800 B.C. (LM IIIB/IIIC through Early Geometric) (Aegaeum 21), Liège & Austin.
- Nowicki, K. 2002
‘The end of the Neolithic in Crete’, *Aegean Archaeology* 6, 7–72.
- Nowicki, K. 2012
‘East Cretan peak sanctuaries revisited’, in *PHILISTOR: studies in honor of Costis Davaras* (Prehistory Monographs 36), Philadelphia, 137–52.
- Orlandos, A. 1960
‘Ανασκαφή της Παλαιοχριστιανικής βασιλικής «Τριῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν» Πάρου», *Prakt* 1960, 246–58.
- Outram, A.K., C.J. Knüsel, S. Knight & A.F. Harding 2005
‘Understanding complex fragmented assemblages of human and animal remains: a fully integrated approach’, *JAS* 35, 1699–710.
- Özkaya, V. & A. Coşkun 2009
‘Körtik Tepe, a new Pre-pottery Neolithic A site in south-eastern Anatolia’, *Antiquity, Project Gallery*, Vol 83, 320.

- <http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/ozkaya/>
- Palmer, L.R. 1963
The interpretation of Mycenaean Greek texts, Oxford.
- Palmer, R. 1994
Wine in the Mycenaean Palace economy (Aegaeum 10), Liège & Austin.
- Palyvou, C. 1999
Ακρωτήρι της Θήρας. Η οικοδομική τέχνη (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, no. 183), Athens.
- Palyvou, C. 2002
‘Central courts: the supremacy of the void’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 167–77.
- Panagiotopoulos, D. 2002
Das Tholosgrab E von Phourni bei Archanes (BAR-IS 1014), Oxford.
- Papadakis, N. 1983
Siteia. Fatherland of Myson and Kornaros, a historical, archaeological and cultural guide, Siteia.
- Papadatos, Y. 2005
Tholos Tomb Gamma: a Prepalatial tholos tomb at Phourni, Archanes (Prehistory Monographs 17), Philadelphia.
- Papadatos, Y. 2007
‘The beginning of metallurgy in Crete: new evidence from the FN-EM I settlement at Kephala-Petras, Siteia’, in *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*, P.M. Day & R.C.P. Doonan (eds.), (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 7), Oxford, 154–67.
- Papadatos, Y. 2008
‘The Neolithic–Early Bronze Age transition in Crete: new evidence from the settlement at Petras Kephala, Siteia’, in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 261–75.
- Papadatos, Y. 2011
‘Οικιακή οργάνωση και χρήσεις χώρων στο Νεολιθικό – Πρωτομινωικό οικισμό στην Κεφάλα Πετρών, Σητείας’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 365–78.
- Papadatos, Y. 2012
‘An Early Minoan boat model from Kephala Petras, Siteia’, in *PHILISTOR: studies in honor of Costis Davaras*, E. Manztourani & P.P. Betancourt (eds.), (Prehistory Monographs 36), Philadelphia, 153–7.
- Papadatos, Y., P. Tomkins, E. Nodarou & I. Iliopoulos in press
‘The beginning of Early Bronze Age in Crete: continuities and discontinuities in the ceramic assemblage at Petras Kephala, Siteia’, in *The Aegean Early Bronze Age: new evidence, international conference, Athens, April 11th–14th 2008*, C. Doumas, G.A. Giannikouri & O. Kouka (eds.).
- Papaggelos, I. 1988
‘Το μεσαιωνικό νεκροταφείο της Ιερισσού’, in *7th Symposium of Byzantine and Post Byzantine archaeology and art, abstracts*, Athens, 78–9.
- Papaggelos, I. & K. Doukas 2008
‘Η Παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική της Ιερισσού’, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη* (oral presentation).
- Papanikola-Bakirtzi, D. (ed.) 1999
Βυζαντινά εφραλωμένα κεραμικά. Η τέχνη των εγγραφάτων, Athens.
- Papanikola-Bakirtzi, D., F. Mavrikiou & Ch. Bakirtzis 1999
Βυζαντινή κεραμική στο Μουσείο Μπενάκη, Athens.
- Parker Pearson, M. 1999
The archaeology of death and burial, Phoenix Mill.
- Peatfield, A.A.D. 1983
‘The topography of Minoan peak sanctuaries’, *BSA* 78, 273–9.
- Peatfield, A. 1999
‘The paradox of violence: weaponry and martial art in Minoan Crete’, in Laffineur 1999, 67–74.
- Peltenberg, E. 1991
Lemba Archaeological Project Volume II.2: a ceremonial area at Kissonerga, (SIMA 70), Göteborg, 17–36.
- Peltenberg, E. & S. Swiny 2001
The earliest prehistory of Cyprus: from colonization to exploitation (Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute. Monograph series, Vol. 2), Boston.
- Pendlebury, J.D.S. 1939
The archaeology of Crete. An introduction, London.
- Pendlebury, H.W., J.D.C.
Pendlebury & M.B. Money-Coutts 1935–1936
‘Excavations in the plain of Lasithi, I, the cave of Trapeza’, *BSA* 36, 5–131.
- Perakis, M. 2005
Έρευνες για την οικονομία και την κοινωνία της Κρήτης του 19ου αιώνα, Athens.
- Peres, T.M. 2010
‘Methodological issues in zooarchaeology’, in *Integrating zooarchaeology and paleoethnobotany: a consideration of issues, methods, and cases*, A.M. Vanderwarker & T.M. Peres (eds.), New York, 15–36.
- Petrie, W.M.F. 1890
Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, London.

- Phillips, J. 2008
Aegyptiaca on the island of Crete in their chronological context: a critical review (Contributions to the chronology of the eastern Mediterranean 18), Vienna.
- Pini, I. 1968
Beiträge zur minoische Gräberkunde, Wiesbaden.
- Pini, I. 1989
‘Zur “richtigen” Ansicht minoisch-mykenischer Siegel- und Ringdarstellungen’, in *Fragen und Probleme der Bronzezeitlichen Ägäischen Glyptik. 3. Internationalen Marburger Siegel-Symposium 5.–7. September 1985*, I. Pini (ed.), (CMS Beiheft 3), Berlin, 201–17.
- Pini, I. 1992
‘Seals’, in *Minoan and Greek civilization from the Mitsotakis Collection*, L. Marangou (ed.), Athens, 200–20.
- Pini, I. 2010a
‘A short history of the Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel’, *CMS Beiheft* 8, 3–10.
- Pini, I. 2010b
‘An unusual four-sided prism’, in Krzyszkowska 2010a, 239–42.
- Pini, I. 2010c
Aegean and Cypro-Aegean non-sphragistic decorated gold finger rings of the Bronze Age (Aegaeum 31), Liège & Austin.
- Pini, O. 2010d
‘Soft stone versus hard stone seals in Aegean glyptic: some observations on style and iconography’ (CMS Beiheft 8), 325–39.
- Platon, L. 1997
‘The Minoan “villa” in eastern Crete. Riza, Akhkladia, and Prophetes Elias Praissos: two different specimens of one category’, in Hägg 1997, 187–202.
- Platon, L. 1999a
‘New evidence for the occupation at Zakros before the LM I palace,’ in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 671–81.
- Platon, L. 1999b
‘Ανυπόγραφα “έργα τέχνης” στα χέρια ιδιωτών κατά τη Νεοανακτορική περίοδο στην Κρήτη’, in *Eliten in der Bronzezeit: Ergebnisse zweier Colloquien in Mainz und Athen*, I. Kilian-Dirlmeier & M. Eggs (eds.), (Monographien des Romisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 43), Mainz, 37–50.
- Platon, L. 2000
‘Ανακτορικά χαρακτηριστικά στη Μινωική οικιακή αρχιτεκτονική’, in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Conference (Herakleion, 9–14 September 1996)*, Herakleion, 51–77.
- Platon, L. 2002
‘The political and cultural influence of the Zakros palace on nearby sites and in a wide context,’ in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 145–56.
- Platon, L. 2004
‘Το Υστερομινωικό Ι ανάκτορο της Ζάκρου: μία «Κνωσό» έξω από την Κνωσό,’ in Cadogan, Hatzaki & Vasilakis 2004, 381–92.
- Platon, N. 1952a
‘Ιερόν Πισκοκοεφάλου Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1952, 631–6.
- Platon, N. 1952b
‘Μινωική έπαυλις Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1952, 636–9.
- Platon, N. 1952c
‘Μεσομινωική Ι οικία Ριζας Αχλαδιών’, *Prakt* 1952, 646–8.
- Platon, N. 1953
‘Συνέχισις της άνασσαφής της μινωικής έπαύλεως της Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1953, 288–91.
- Platon, N. 1954a
‘Η άρχαιολογική κίνησις έν Κρήτη κατά τό έτος’, *CretChron* 8, 506–16.
- Platon, N. 1954b
‘Άνασσαφάι περιοχής Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1954, 361–8.
- Platon, N. 1955
‘Μινωική άγροικία Ζου Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1955, 288–93.
- Platon, N. 1956
‘Η άρχαιολογική κίνησις έν Κρήτη κατά τό έτος 1954’, *CretChron* 10, 416.
- Platon, N. 1957
‘Η άρχαιολογική κίνησις έν Κρήτη κατά τό έτος 1954’, *CretChron* 11, 339–40.
- Platon, N. 1959
‘Άνασσαφή Άχλαδιών Σητείας’, *Prakt* 1959, 210–9.
- Platon, N. 1960
‘Μινωική άγροικία Προφήτου Ήλια Τουρτουλών’, *Prakt* 1960, 294–300.
- Platon, N. 1962
‘Μία σφραγιστική ιδιορρυθμία της Προανακτορικής μινωικής περιόδου’, in *Festschrift für Friedrich Matz*, N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz & H. Biesantz (eds.), Mainz, 14–8.
- Platon, N. 1967a
‘Άνασσαφάι Ζάκρου’, *Prakt* 1967, 162–94.
- Platon, N. 1967b
‘Ζάκρος’, *Ergon* 1967, 102–15.
- Popham, M.R. 1984
The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (BSA Suppl. 17), London, 309.

- Popham, E.A. & H.W. Catling 1974
‘Sellopoulou Tombs 3 and 4, two Late Minoan graves near Knossos’, *BSA* 69, 195–257.
- Portale, E.C. & I. Romeo 2001
‘Contentitori da trasporto’, in *Gortina V. 3, Lo scavo del Pretorio (1989–1995), vol. V.3, t. I, I Materiali*, A. Di Vita (ed.), Padova, 260–410.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 1990
‘Church complex at Pseira. Excavations at Pseira, 1987 and 1988’, *Cretan Studies* 2, 5–9.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 1995
‘Le monastère Byzantin à Pseira (Crète): la céramique’, in *Akten des Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie (Bonn 22–28 September 1991)*, vol. 2, Münster, 1119–31.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2001
‘Κεραμική από τον νησιωτικό χώρο και από την Πελοπόννησο (7^{ος}–9^{ος} αι.): μία πρώτη προσέγγιση’, in *Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες του Βυζαντίου, EIE/IBE, Αθήνα, Μάιος 1999*, E. Kountoura-Galaki (ed.), Athens, 231–66.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2003
‘Μεσοβυζαντινή κεραμική από την Κρήτη: 9^{ος}–12^{ος} αιώνες’, in *VIII congrès international sur la céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée (Thessaloniki, 11–16 Octobre 1999)*, Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), Athens, 211–26.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2005
‘Classical to Byzantine pottery’, in *Pseira IX: the archaeological survey of Pseira Island, Part 2: the intensive surface survey*, P.P. Betancourt, C. Davaras & R. Hope Simpson (eds.), Philadelphia, 7–19, 29–38, 41–8, 51–9, 63–70, 75–104, 114–22, 126–33, 141–9, 159–67, 173–219, 227–33, 241–4, 267–73.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2008a
‘Στιγμές από την ιστορία του Ηρακλείου. Από την Πρωτοβυζαντινή εποχή έως την περίοδο της Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας’, in *Ηράκλειο. Η άγνωστη ιστορία της αρχαίας πόλης*, A. Ioannidou-Karetsou (ed.), Herakleion, 148–201.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. 2008b
‘Βυζαντινή κεραμική από την Ελεύθερα: η στέγνα της Αγίας Άννας’, in *Ελεύθερα, Τομέας II, 3. Βυζαντινό σπίτι στην Αγία Άννα*, Th. Kalpaxis et al. (eds.), Rethymnon, 25–187.
- Poulou-Papadimitriou, N. & E. Nodarou 2007
‘La céramique Protobyzantine de Pseira: la production locale et les importations. Étude typologique et pétrographique’, in *LRCW 2, Archaeology and Archaeometry*, M. Bonifay & J.-C. Tréglià (eds.), (BAR-IS 1662: II), Oxford, 755–66.
- Poursat, J.-C. 1987
‘Town and palace at Malia in the Protopalatial period’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 75–6.
- Poursat, J.-C. & C. Knappett 2005
Le Quartier Mu IV. La poterie du Minoen Moyen II: production et utilisation (Études Crétoises 33), Athens & Paris.
- Pritchard, J.B. 1969
Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament, 3rd ed., Princeton.
- Raison, J. & M. Pope 1980
Corpus transnuméré du Linéaire A, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Rehak, P. (ed.) 1995
The role of the ruler in the prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a panel discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992 (Aegaeum 11), Liège.
- Reitz, E.J. & E.S. Wing 1999
Zooarchaeology (Cambridge manuals in archaeology), Cambridge.
- Relaki, M. 2003
Social arenas in Minoan Crete: a regional history of the Mesara in South-Central Crete from the Final Neolithic to the end of the Protopalatial period, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield.
- Relaki, M. 2004
‘Constructing a region: the contested landscapes of Prepalatial Mesara’, in *The emergence of civilisation revisited*, J.C. Barrett & P. Halstead (eds.), Oxford, 170–88.
- Relaki, M. 2009
‘Rethinking administration and seal use in third millennium Crete’, *Creta Antica* 10, 353–72.
- Relaki, M. 2012
‘The social arenas of tradition. Investigating collective and individual social strategies in the Prepalatial and Protopalatial Mesara’, in Schoep, Tomkins, & Driessen 2012, 290–324.
- Renfrew, C. 1972
The emergence of civilisation: the Cyclades and the Aegean in the third millennium BC, London.
- Renger, J. 1979
‘Interaction of temple, palace, and “private enterprise” in the Old Babylonian economy’, in *State and temple economy in the ancient Near East. Proceedings of the international conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978, vol. I (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 5)*, Leuven, 249–56.
- Reynolds, P. 2003
‘Pottery and the economy in

- 8th century Beirut: an Umayyad assemblage from the Roman Imperial Baths (BEY 045)', in *VIIe congrès international sur la céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée (Thessaloniki, 11–16 Octobre 1999)*, Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), Athens, 725–34.
- Rizzo, M.A. 2001
‘Terra sigillata LRC’, in *Gortina V.3, Lo scavo del Pretorio, vol. V.3, t. I, I Materiali*, A. di Vita (ed.), Padova, 55–64.
- Rocchetti, L. 1994a
Sybrita. La valle di Amari fra Bronzo e Ferro, Rome.
- Rocchetti, L. 1994b
‘Sybrita: Lo scavo’, in Rocchetti 1994a, 237–47.
- Romano, J.F. 1980
‘The origin of the Bes-image’, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2, 39–56.
- Rothman, M.S. 2002
Tépe Gawra: the evolution of a small prehistoric center in Iraq, Philadelphia.
- Rose, M. 1994
With line and glittering bronze hook: fishing in the Aegean Bronze Age, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Ann Arbor, Bloomington.
- Rupp, D.W. 2006
‘Political power posturing at Petras, Siteia? A new MMIA/B conoid stamp seal from Sector III’, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, A1, Herakleion, 263–78.
- Rupp, D.W. & M. Tsipopoulou 1999
‘Conical cup concentrations at Neopalatial Petras: a case for a ritualized reception ceremony with token hospitality’, in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 729–39.
- Ruscillo, D. 2005
‘Reconstructing Murex royal purple and biblical blue in the Aegean’, in *Archaeomalacology. Molluscs in former environments of human behaviour. Proceedings of the 9th ICAZ conference, Durham 2002*, D.E. Bar-Yosef Mayer (ed.), Oxford, 99–106.
- Ruscillo, D. 2006
‘Faunal remains and Murex dye production’, in *Kommos V: The monumental Minoan buildings*, J.W. Shaw & M.C. Shaw (eds.), Princeton, 776–840.
- Russell, J. 1986
‘Transformations in early Byzantine urban life: the contribution and limitations of archaeological evidence’, in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress, major papers, New Rochelle 1986*, New York, 137–84.
- Sackett, L.H. & M.R. Popham 1965
‘Excavations at Palaikastro VI’, *BSA* 60, 248–315.
- Sakellarakis, Y.A. 1972
‘Τό προσχέδιον τῆς σφραγιδος ἐκ Βαφειοῦ CMS I 220 ἐκ Βαφειοῦ’, *ArchEph* 113, 234–44.
- Sakellarakis, Y. 1974
‘Ἀνασκαφές Ἀρχαίων’, *Prakt* 1974, 207–12.
- Sakellarakis, Y.A. 1975
‘Ἀνασκαφές Ἀρχαίων’, in *Περί τὴν τεχνικὴν καὶ τὸ θεματολόγιον τῆς κρητομυκηναϊκῆς σφραγιδογνωφίας*, Athens, 27–42.
- Sakellarakis, J. & E. Sakellaraki 1982
‘Ἀρχάνες’, *Ergon* 1982, 54–6.
- Sanders, G.D.R. 2000
‘New relative and absolute chronologies for 9th to 13th century glazed wares at Corinth: methodology and social conclusions’, in *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, K. Belka, F. Hild, J. Koder & P. Soustal (eds.), (Tabula Imperii Byzantini, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Vienna, December 1997), Wien 2000, 153–73.
- Sanders, I.F. 1982
Roman Crete. An archaeological survey and gazetteer of late Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine Crete, Warminster.
- Saunders, T. 1990
‘The feudal construction of space: power and domination in nucleated village’, in *Social archaeology of houses*, R. Samson (ed.), Edinburgh, 181–96.
- Sbonias, K. 1995
Frühkretische Siegel: Ansätze für eine Interpretation der sozial-politischen Entwicklung auf Kreta während der Frühbronzezeit (BAR-IS 620), Oxford.
- Sbonias, K. 1999
‘Social development, management of production, and symbolic representation in Prepalatial Crete’, in Chaniotis 1999, 25–51.
- Schallin, A.-L. 1993
Islands under influence. The Cyclades in the Late Bronze Age and the nature of Mycenaean presence, Jonsered.
- Scheffer, C. 1984
‘Aegean, bronze-age, spit supports with scalloped tops’, *OpAth* 15, 155–62.
- Scheuer, L. & S. Black 2000
Juvenile developmental osteology, London.

- Schoep, I. 1995
‘Context and chronology of Linear A administrative documents’, *Aegean Archaeology* 2, 29–65.
- Schoep, I. 2002a
‘Social and political organization on Crete in the Proto-Palatial period: the case of Middle Minoan II Malia’, *JMA* 15, 101–32.
- Schoep, I. 2002b
‘The state of the Minoan palaces or the Minoan Palace-State’, in Driessen, Schoep, & Laffineur 2002, 15–33.
- Schoep, I. 2006
‘Looking beyond the first palaces: elites and the agency of power in EM III-MM II Crete’, *AJA* 110, 37–64.
- Schoep, I., P. Tomkins & J. Driessen (eds.) 2012
Back to the beginning. Reassessing social, economic and political complexity in the Early and Middle Bronze Age on Crete. Proceedings of an international workshop, Leuven 1–2 February 2008, Oxford.
- Schwartz, G. & H. Curvers 1992
‘Tell al-Raqa’I 1989 and 1990: further investigations at the small rural site of early urban northern Mesopotamia’, *AJA* 96, 397–419.
- Schwartz, G., H. Curvers, F. Gerritsen, J. MacCromack, N. Miller & J. Weber 2000
‘Excavation and survey in the Jabbul Plain, western Syria: the Umm el-Marra Project 1996–1997’, *AJA* 104, 419–62.
- Seager, R.B. 1912
Explorations in the island of Mochlos, Boston.
- Seager, R.B. 1916
The cemetery of Pachyammos, Crete, Philadelphia.
- Shaw, J.W. 1973
‘Minoan architecture: materials and techniques’, *ASAtene* 33, 1–236.
- Shaw, J.W. 1987
‘A ‘palatial’ stoa at Kommos’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 101–10.
- Simandiraki, A. 2002
Middle Minoan III pottery from Building B of the Mount Juktas peak sanctuary, Crete, and a general re-assessment of the Middle Minoan III period, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Bristol.
http://www.anna-simandiraki.co.uk/Publications/2002-Dr. Anna_Simandiraki_PhD_%20Entire.pdf (accessed 27/02/2011).
- Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. 2009
Miniature vessels in Minoan Crete project report for 2009, Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), Philadelphia, unpublished manuscript.
- Simandiraki, A. 2011
‘Miniature vessels in Minoan Crete’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 45–58.
- Simandiraki-Grimshaw, A. in preparation
Miniature vessels in Minoan Crete.
- Smith, R.A.K. 2010
Mochlos IIB: Period IV. The Mycenaean settlement and cemetery. The pottery (Prehistory Monographs 27), Philadelphia.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan 2009a
‘The excavation of House A.1 at Papadiokampos’, *Kentro* 12, 6–9.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan 2009b
‘Πρόσφατη ανασκαφική έρευνα στον Παπαδιόκαμπο Σητείας’, *Κρητική Εστία* 12, 23–32.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan 2010
‘Μινωικός οικισμός Παπαδιοκάμπου Σητείας. Η ανασκαφή της Οικίας Β.1 κατά το 2008’, in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 1. Πρακτικά της 1ης Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymnon, 134–43.
- Sofianou, Ch. & T.M. Brogan in press
‘Μινωικός οικισμός Παπαδιοκάμπου Σητείας. Η ανασκαφή της Οικίας Β.1 κατά το 2009–10’, in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο Κρήτης 2, Πρακτικά της 2ης Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 26–28 Νοεμβρίου 2010*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.).
- Soles, J. 1988
‘Social ranking in Prepalatial cemeteries’, in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, E. French & K. Wardle (eds.), Bristol, 49–62.
- Soles, J. 1991
‘The Gournia palace’, *AJA* 95, 17–78.
- Soles, J.S. 1992
‘The Prepalatial cemeteries of Mochlos and Gournia and the house tombs of Bronze Age Crete (Hesperia Suppl. 24), Princeton.
- Soles, J. 1995
‘The functions of a cosmological center’, in Laffineur & Niemeier 1995, 405–14.
- Soles, J.S. 1999
‘The ritual “killing” of pottery and the discovery of a Mycenaean telestas at Mochlos’, in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 787–92.

- Soles, J.S. 2001
‘Reverence for dead ancestors in prehistoric Crete’, in Laffineur & Hägg 2001, 229–36.
- Soles, J.S. 2002
‘A central court at Gournia’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 123–32.
- Soles, J. 2003
Mochlos IA: Period III. Neopalatial settlement on the coast: the Artisans’ Quarter and the farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The site (Prehistory Monographs 7), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J. 2004
‘New construction at Mochlos in the LM IB period’, in Day, Mook & Muhly 2004, 153–62.
- Soles J.S. & C. Davaras 1992
‘Excavations at Mochlos’, *Hesperia* 61, 413–46.
- Spanier, E. & N. Karmon 1987
‘Murcid snails and the ancient dye industries’, in *The royal purple and the biblical blue, argamon and tekhelet*, E. Spanier (ed.), Jerusalem, 179–92.
- Staley, P.S., J.L. Phillips & J.D. Clark 1974
‘Interpretations of prehistoric technology from ancient Egyptian and other sources. Part I: ancient Egyptian bows and arrows and their relevance for African prehistory’,
- Stampolidis, N. (ed.) 2004
Ελεύθερα. Πόλη – Αρχόπολη – Νεχροπόλη, Athens.
- Stamos, A., Ch. Sofianou & T.M. Brogan forthcoming
‘Making the invisible visible: ground penetrating radar at Papadiokampos, Crete’, in *Minoan archaeology. Challenges and perspectives for the 21st century*.
- Heidelberg, 23–27 March 2011, D. Panaiotopoulos (ed.).
- Starida, L. 2003
‘Μεσοβυζαντινή εφραλωμένη κεραμική από το Ηράκλειο’, in *VIIe Congrès international sur la céramique Médiévale en Méditerranée (Thessaloniki, 11–16 Octobre 1999)*, Ch. Bakirtzis (ed.), Athens, 713–24.
- Stavrakis, N. 1890
Στατιστική τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ τῆς Κρήτης, Athens.
- Stegmann, A.T. 1985
‘Eighteenth century British military stature: growth cessation, selective recruiting, secular trends, nutrition at birth, cold and occupation’, *Human Biology* 57, 77–95.
- Steel, L. 1995
‘Differential burial practices in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age’, in Campbell & Green 1995, 199–205.
- Stordeur D., D. Helmer & G. Willcox 1997
‘Jerf el Ahmar – un nouveau site de l’horizon PPNA sur le moyen Euphrate syrien’, *BSPF* 94, 282–5.
- Stürmer, V. 1993
‘La céramique de Chrysolakkos: catalogue et réexamen’, *BCH* 117, 123–87.
- Suleiman, A. 1995
‘Tell Boueid’, in *Chronique des activités archéologiques en Syrie*, M. al-Maqdissi (ed.), (Syria 72:II), 164–70.
- Televantou, C.A. 2008
‘Strofilas: a Neolithic settlement on Andros’, in Brodie *et al.* 2008, 493–528.
- Tenwolde, C. 1992
‘Myrtos revisited: the role of relative function ceramic typologies in Bronze Age settlement analysis’, *OJA* 11, 1–24.
- Theodoropoulou, T. 2007a
‘La mer dans l’assiette: l’exploitation alimentaire des faunes aquatiques en Egée pré- et proto-historique’, in *Cooking up the past, Proceedings of the international symposium on the dietary practices in Neolithic and Bronze Age Greece, April 2004, Clermont-Ferrand*, C. Mee & J. Renard (eds.), Oxford, 72–88.
- Theodoropoulou, T. 2007b
L’exploitation des faunes aquatiques aux périodes pré- et protohistoriques, Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. & M. Dunand 1936
Til Barsib, vol. 1–2 (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 23), Paris.
- Todaro, S. 2005
‘EM–MM IA ceramic groups at Phaistos: towards the definition of a Prepalatial ceramic sequence in South Central Crete’, *Creta Antica* 6, 11–46.
- Todaro, S. 2009
‘The latest Prepalatial period and the foundation of the first palace at Phaistos: a stratigraphic and chronological re-assessment’, *Creta Antica* 10, 105–45.
- Todaro, S. 2012
‘Craft production and social practices at Prepalatial Phaistos: the background to the first ‘Palace’, in Schoep, Tomkins & Driessen 2012, 195–235.
- Todaro, S. & S. Di Tonto 2008
‘The Neolithic settlement at Phaistos revisited: evidence for ceremonial activity on the eve of the Bronze Age’, in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 177–90.

- Tomkins, P. 2007
‘Neolithic: strata IX–VIII, VII–VIB, VIA–V, IV, IIIB, IIIA, IIB, IIA and IC groups, in Momigliano 2007, 9–48.
- Tomkins, P. 2008
‘Time, space and the reinvention of the Cretan Neolithic’, in Isaakidou & Tomkins 2008, 22–51.
- Tomkins, P. 2010
‘Neolithic antecedents’, in *The Oxford handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean*, E. Cline (ed.), New York, 31–49.
- Tournavitou, I. 2009
‘Does size matter? Miniature pottery vessels in Minoan peak sanctuaries’, in D’Agata & Van de Moortel 2009, 213–30.
- Triandafyllidou–Baladié, G. 1988
Το εμπόριο και η οικονομία της Κρήτης (1669–1795), Herakleion.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2005
‘The human remains’, in Papadatos 2005, 66–75.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2009
‘EM/MM human skeletal remains from East Crete: the Kephala Petras Rock Shelter, Siteia, and the Livari Tholos Tomb, Skiadi’, in *Kentro* 12, 19–23.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2010a
‘The human remains’, in Vasilakis & Branigan 2010, 229–48.
- Triantaphyllou, S. 2010b
‘Report of human bone preliminary work in 2008’, Appendix in Tsipopoulou 2010b, 125–9.
- Triantaphyllou, S. in press
‘Managing with death in Prepalatial Crete: the evidence of the human remains’, in *From the foundations to the legacy of Minoan society*, Y. Papadatos & M. Relaki (eds.), (Oxbow Monographs), Sheffield.
- Triantaphyllou, S., M. Tsipopoulou & P. Betancourt forthcoming
‘Κεφάλια Πετρά Σητείας: ανθρωπίνα οστά και ταφικές πρακτικές στην ΠΜ βραχοσιεπή και το ΜΜ νεκροταφείο’, in *Proceedings of the 11th International Cretological Congress (Rethymnon 21–26 October 2011)*.
- Tsanana, A. & Th. Dogkas in press
‘Νεότερες πληροφορίες για τη μεσαιωνική Ιερισσό’, *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη*.
- Tsangarakis, E. 2010
‘Sealings with representations of human figures: a Neopalatial repertoire and its significance in the administrative system’, *CMS Beiheft* 8, 363–81.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1988
‘Αγία Φωτιά Σητείας: το νέο εύρημα’, in *Problems in Greek prehistory. Papers presented at the centenary conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester April 1986*, E.B. French & K.A. Wardle (eds.), Bristol, 31–47.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1989
Archaeological survey at Aghia Photia (SIMA- Pocketbook 76), Partille.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1990a
‘Μινωική κατοίκηση στην περιοχή της πόλης της Σητείας’, in *Proceedings of the 6th International Cretological Conference (24–30 August 1986)*, A2, Khania, 305–21.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1990b
‘Potters’ marks’ from Petras, Siteia’, *Kadmos* 29, 92–106.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1991a
‘Έρευνα στον Πετρά και τον κόλπο της Σητείας (1988)’, *ArchDelt* 41, Meletes, 340–400.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1991b
‘Τεκτονικό σημείο από τον Πετρά Σητείας’, *AAA* 19, 171–7.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1991c
‘Έρευνα στον Πετρά και τον κόλπο της Σητείας’, *AAA* 20, 11–30.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1991d
‘Μινωική άγρυα από τον Πετρά Σητείας’, *ArchEph* 128, 121–8.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1995
‘Κεραμεικά σημεία από την ανασκαφή του Πετρά Σητείας (1989–1990)’, in *Proceedings of the 7th International Cretological Conference (Rethymnon, 25–31 August 1991)*, A2, Rethymnon, 931–71.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1997a
‘Palace-centered polities in eastern Crete: Neopalatial Petras and its neighbors’, in *Urbanism in antiquity: from Mesopotamia to Crete*, W.E. Aufrecht, N.A. Mirau & S.W. Gauley (eds.), Sheffield, 263–77.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1997b
‘Late Minoan III reoccupation in the area of the palatial building at Petras, Siteia’, in Hallager & Hallager 1997, 209–52.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1999a
‘From local centre to palace: the role of fortifications in the economic transformation of the Siteia Bay area, East Crete’, in Laffineur 1999, 179–90.
- Tsipoulou, M. 1999b
‘Before, during, after: the architectural phases of the palatial building at Petras, Siteia’, in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 847–55.
- Tsipoulou, M. 2001
‘Πετρά Σητείας’, *ArchDelt* 51, B2, Chronika, 649–51.
- Tsipoulou, M. 2002
‘Petras, Siteia: the palace, the town, the hinterland and the Protopalatial background’, in Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002, 133–44.

- Tsipopoulou, M. 2003
‘The Minoan palace at Petras, Siteia’, *Athena Review* 3(3), 44–51.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2005a
‘Filling the gaps: recent excavations at Petras Siteia (a celebration of 20 years of work at the site)’, INSTAP Study Center for East Crete, Summer Lecture Series, 25 June 2005.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2005b
“Mycenoans” at the Isthmus of Ierapetra: some (preliminary) thoughts on the foundation of the (Eteo)Cretan cultural identity’, in D’Agata & Moody 2005, 303–33.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2006
‘Counting sherds at Neopalatial Petras, Siteia, East Crete: integrating ceramic analysis with architectural data’, in *Deconstructing context: a critical approach to archaeological practice*, D. Papaconstantinou (ed.), Oxford, 138–58.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2007a
‘Aghia Photia-Kouphota: a centre for metallurgy in the Early Minoan period’, in *Metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean*, P.M. Day & R.C.P. Doonan (eds.), (Sheffield studies in Aegean archaeology 7), Oxford, 135–45.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2007b
‘Το προανακτορικό νεκροταφείο στον Πετρά Σητείας: προκαταρκτικές παρατηρήσεις’, *Minoan Seminar*, 2 March 2007, (Unpublished manuscript), Athens.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2007c
‘The central court of the palace of Petras’, in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 49–59.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2009
‘Goddesses for “Gene”? The Late Minoan IIIc shrine at Halasmenos, Ierapetra’, in D’Agata & Van de Moortel 2009, 121–36.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2010a
‘The archaeological context. The palatial building’, in Tsipopoulou & Hallager 2010, 21–68.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2010b
‘Προανακτορική ταφική βραχοσκεπή στον Πετρά Σητείας – πρώτη ανακοίνωση’, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 1, Πρακτικά της 1^{ης} Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 28–30 Νοεμβρίου 2008*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.), Rethymnon, 121–38.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2011a
‘Chalasmenos, Ierapetra: “Mycenaeanizing” or not at the end of the Bronze Age’, in *STEGA: the archaeology of houses and households in ancient Crete. Papers of an international workshop held in Ierapetra in May 2005*, K. Glowacki & N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), (Hesperia Suppl. 44), Princeton, 333–47.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2011b
‘Πρόσφατα ευρήματα στον Πετρά Σητείας, οι ανασκαφές του 21^{ου} αιώνα’, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress (Khania, 1–8 October 2006)*, A3, 337–64.
- Tsipopoulou, M. 2012
‘Kampos group pottery from the cemetery at Petras, Siteia’, in *PHILISTOR: studies in honor of Costis Davaras* (Prehistory Monographs 36), Philadelphia, 211–20.
- Tsipopoulou, M. in press a
‘Πετράς-Σητεία. Προανακτορικό-πρώιμο Παλαιοανακτορικό Ταφικό Κτίριο 2’, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Κρήτης 2, Πρακτικά της 2ης Συνάντησης, Ρέθυμνο, 26–28 Νοεμβρίου 2010*, M. Andrianakis & I. Tzachili (eds.).
- Tsipopoulou, M. in press b
‘Πετράς, Σητεία, από την Προανακτορική στην Ανακτορική περίοδο’, in *The Aegean Early Bronze Age: new evidence, international conference, Athens, April 11th-14th 2008*, C. Doumas, G.A. Giannikouri & O. Kouka (eds).
- Tsipopoulou, M. & M.E. Alberti 2011
‘LM IB Petras: the pottery from Room E of House II.1’, in Brogan & Hallager 2011, 463–98.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & H. Dierckx 2006
‘Υστερομινωικό ΙΑ Σπίτι στον Πετρά Σητείας. Δομή, λειτουργία και κατανομή των ευρημάτων’, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Cretological Conference, (Elounda, 1–6 October 2001)*, Herakleion, A1, 297–315.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & E. Hallager 1996
‘Inscriptions with hieroglyphs and Linear A from Petras, Siteia’, *SMEA* 37, 7–46.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & E. Hallager (eds.) 2010
The hieroglyphic archive at Petras, Siteia (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 9), Athens.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & A. Papacostopoulou 1997
“Villas” and villages in the hinterland of Petras, Siteia’, in Hägg 1997, 203–14.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & L. Vagnetti 1995
Achladia: scavi e ricerche della Missione Greco-Italiana in Creta Orientale: 1991–1993 (Incunabula Graeca 37), Rome.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & L. Vagnetti 1997
‘Workshop attributions for

- some Late Minoan III East Cretan larnakes', in Laffineur & Betancourt 1997, 473–9.
- Tsipopoulou, M. & M. Wedde 2000
 'Διαβάζοντας ένα χωματίνο παλιμψηστο: στρωματογραφικές τομές στο ανακτορικό κτίριο του Πετρό Σητείας', in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Conference (Herakleion, 9–14 September 1996)*, A1, Herakleion, 359–77.
- Tsougarakis, D. 1988
Byzantine Crete. From the 5th century to the Venetian conquest (Historical Monographs 4), Athens.
- Tsountas, Chr. 1898
 'Κυκλαδικά Ι', *ArchEph*, 137–212.
- Tsountas, Chr. 1899
 'Κυκλαδικά ΙΙ', *ArchEph*, 74–134.
- Tsuneki, A., J. Hydar, Y. Miyake, O. Maeda, T. Odaka, K. Tanno & A. Hasegawa 2000
 'Fourth preliminary report of the excavations at Tell el-Kerkh (2000), northwestern Syria', *Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum* 21, 1–36.
- Tufnell, O. & W.A. Ward 1966
 'Relations between Byblos, Egypt, and Mesopotamia at the end of the third millennium BC', *Syria* 43, 165–228.
- Tumasonis, D. 1983
 'Aspects of Minoan society: a view from social anthropology', in Krzyszkowska & Nixon 1983 303–10.
- Tzachili, I. 1997
Υφαντική και υφάντρες στο Προϊστορικό Αρχαίο 2000–1000 π.Χ., Herakleion.
- Tzachili, I. 2001
 'Counting and recording textiles in the Mycenaean archives of Knossos', in *Manufacture and measurement. Counting, measuring and recording craft items in early Aegean societies*, A. Michailidou (ed.), Athens, 177–93.
- Tzedaki-Apostolaki, L. 2004
 'Ψηφίδες ιστορίας: Νομός Ηρακλείου 1900–1925', in *Heraklion and its area: a journey through time*, N.M. Gigourtakis (ed.), Herakleion, 411–46.
- Tzedakis, Y. & S. Chryssoulaki 1987
 'Neopalatial architectural elements in the area of Chania', in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 111–5.
- Vagnetti, L. 1996
 'The Final Neolithic: Crete enters the wider world', *Cretan Studies* 5, 29–39.
- Vagnetti, L., A. Christopoulou & I. Tzedakis 1989
 'Saggi negli strati neolitici', in *Scavi a Nerokourou, Kydonias*, I. Tzedakis & A. Sacconi (eds.), (Ricerca Greco-Italiana in Creta Occidentale I), Roma, 9–97.
- Van den Brink 1982
Tombs and burial customs at Tell el-Dab'a (Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 4), Vienna.
- Van de Mierop, M. 1997
The ancient Mesopotamian city, Oxford.
- Vandenabeele, F. & J.-P. Olivier, 1979
Les idéogrammes archéologiques du Linéaire B (Études Crétoises 25), Paris.
- Van Effenterre, H. 1980
Le palais de Mallia et la cité minoenne (Incunabula Graeca 76), Rome.
- Van Effenterre, H. & M. Van Effenterre 1963
Fouilles exécutées à Mallia. Étude du site et exploration des nécropoles de Mallia, deuxième fascicule (Études Crétoises 13), Paris.
- Van Loon, M.N. 1968
 'The Oriental Institute excavations at Mureybit, Syria: preliminary report on the 1965 campaign', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27:14, 265–90.
- Van Loon, M.N. 1979
 '1974 and 1975 preliminary results of the excavations at Selenkahiye near Meskene, Syria', in *Archaeological reports from the Tabqa Dam Project, Euphrates Valley, Syria*, D. Freedman (ed.), (AASOR 44), Cambridge, 97–112.
- Vasilakis, A.S. 1996
Ο χρυσός και ο άργυρος στην Κρήτη κατά την Πρώιμη Περίοδο του Χαλκού, Herakleion.
- Vasilakis, A.S. 2008
 'Silver metalworking in prehistoric Crete. A historical survey', in *Aegean metallurgy in the Bronze Age*, I. Tzachili (ed.), Rethymnon, 75–85.
- Vasilakis, A. & K. Branigan 2010
Moni Odigitria. A Prepalatial cemetery in the Asterousia, southern Crete (Prehistory Monographs 30), Philadelphia.
- Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, A. 1989
 'Céramique d'offrande trouvée dans des tombes Byzantines tardives de l'Hippodrome de Thessalonique', in *Recherches sur la céramique Byzantine*, V. Deroche & J.-M. Spieser (eds.), (BCH Suppl. 18), 209–26.
- Vaughan, S.J. 1990
 'Petrographic analysis of the Early Cycladic wares from Akrotiri, Thera', in Hardy *et al.* 1990, 470–87.
- Vaughan, S.J. 2006
 'Macroscopic and petrographic studies of pottery from Markiani on Amorgos', in *Markiani Amorgos*,

- an Early Bronze Age fortified settlement. An overview of the 1985–1991 investigations, L. Marangou, C. Renfrew, C. Doumas & G. Gavalas (eds.), London, 99–101.
- Vaughan, S.J. 2007
‘Material and technological analysis of the Early Bronze Age pottery’, in *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974–77*, C. Renfrew (ed.), London, 110–25.
- Ventris, M. & J. Chadwick 1973
Documents in Mycenaean Greek, (2nd ed.), Cambridge.
- Vickery, K.F. 1936
Food in Early Greece (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 20, No 3), Chicago.
- Vialou, D. 1974
‘Grotte de Kitsos: La parure’, *BCH* 98, 743–8.
- Vialou, D. 1981
‘Objets de parure’, in *La grotte préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique)*, N. Lambert (ed.), (Recherches sur les grandes civilisations 7, vol. 1), Paris, 399–419.
- Vogt, Ch. 2000
‘The Early Byzantine pottery’, in *Πρωτοβυζαντινή Ελεύθερα, Τομέας I*, vol. 2, P. Themelis (ed.), Rethymnon, 37–199.
- Von Pilgrim, C. 1996
‘Elephantine XVIII: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der zweiten Zwischenzeit’, *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 91, 165–74.
- Wall, S.M., J.H. Musgrave & P.M. Warren 1986
‘Human bones from a Late Minoan IB house at Knossos’, *BSA* 81, 333–88.
- Warren, P. 1972
Myrtos. An Early Bronze Age settlement in Crete (BSA Suppl. 7), London.
- Warren, P. 1974
‘Crete, 3000–1400 B.C.: immigration and the archaeological evidence’, in *Bronze Age migrations in the Aegean*, R.A. Crossland & A. Birchall (eds.), London, 41–7.
- Warren, P.M. 1980–1981
‘Knossos Stratigraphical Museum excavations, 1978–80. Part I’, *AR* 27, 73–92.
- Warren, P.M. 1982–1983
‘Knossos Stratigraphical Museum excavations, 1978–82. Part II’, *AR* 29, 63–87.
- Warren, P.M. 1985
‘Minoan palaces’, *Scientific American* 253, 94–103.
- Warren, P.M. 1987
‘The genesis of the Minoan palace’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 47–55.
- Warren, P.M. 1997
‘Late Minoan III pottery from the city of Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum Extension Site’, in Hallager & Hallager 1997, 157–84.
- Warren, P.M. 2004
‘Terra cognita? The territory and boundaries of the early Neopalatial Knossian state’, in Cadogan, Hatzaki & Vasilakis 2004, 159–68.
- Warren, P. 2011
‘The Cretan Stone Age’, *Aegean Archaeology* 9, 135–9.
- Watrous, L.V. 2007
‘Harbors as agents of social change in ancient Crete’, in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 101–6.
- Watrous, L.V. & H. Blitzer 1999
‘The region of Gournia in the Neopalatial Period’, in Betancourt, et al. 1999, 905–11.
- Watrous, L.V., H. Blitzer, D. Haggis & E. Zanegger 2000
‘Economy and society in the Gournia region of Crete: a preliminary report on the 1992–1994 field seasons of the Gournia project’, in *Proceedings of the 8th International Cretological Congress*, A3, Herakleion, 471–83.
- Weingarten, J. 1999
‘War scenes and ruler iconography in a Golden Age: some lessons on missing Minoan themes from the United Provinces (17th c. A.D.)’, in Laffineur 1999, 347–57.
- Weingarten, J. 2010
‘Corridors of power. A social network analysis of the Minoan “replica” rings’, *CMS Beiheft* 8, 395–412.
- Wenke, R.J. 1997
‘City-states, nation states, and territorial states’, in *The archaeology of city-states: cross-cultural approaches*, D.L. Nichols & T.H. Charleton (eds.), Washington D.C., 27–50.
- Wheeler, T.S. 1974
‘Early Bronze Age burial customs in western Anatolia’, *AJA* 78, 415–25.
- Whitelaw, T.M. 1983
‘The settlement at Fournou Koryfi Myrtos and aspects of Early Minoan social organisation’, in Krzyszkowska & Nixon 1983, 323–45.
- Whitelaw, T.M. 2001
‘From sites to communities: defining the human dimensions of Minoan urbanism’, in Branigan 2001a, 15–37.
- Wiener, M.H. 1987
‘Trade and rule in palatial Crete’, in Hägg & Marinatos 1987, 261–6.

- Wiener, M.H. 2007
‘Neopalatial Knossos: rule and role’, in Betancourt, Nelson & Williams 2007, 231–42.
- Wilson, D.E. 1994
‘Knossos before the Palaces: an overview of the Early Bronze Age (EM I–EM III)’, in Evely, Hughes–Brock & Momigliano 1994, 23–44.
- Wilson, D.E., P.M. Day & N. Dimopoulou–Rethemiotaki 2008
‘The gateway port of Poros–Katsambas: trade and exchange between North–Central Crete and the Cyclades in EB I–II’, in Brodie, Doole, Gavalas & Renfrew 2008, 261–70.
- Woolley, L. 1955
Alalakh: an account of the excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937–49, Oxford.
- Woolley, L. 1976
Ur excavations. Vol. VII, The Old Babylonian period, London.
- Xanthopoulou, M. 2004
‘Παλαιοχριστιανική κεραμική της αρχαίας Ιτάνου’, in *Creta Romana e Protobizantina. Atti del congresso internazionale, Iraklion, 23–30 settembre 2000*, vol. III/1, A. Di Vita (ed.), Padova, 1013–27.
- Xanthoudides, S. 1906
‘Προϊστορική οίκια εις Χαμαιζι Σητείας’, *ArchEph*, 117–56.
- Xanthoudides, S. 1921,
‘Μαυραθοκέφαλον’, *ArchDelt* 4, 15–23.
- Xanthoudides, S. 1924
The vaulted tombs of Mesara, London.
- Yangaki, A. 2004
‘Λήμνα Καταλόγου, “Πινάκιο, 13^{ος}–14^{ος} αι. μ.Χ.”’, in *Ελεύθερα. Πόλη – Ακρόπολη – Νεκρόπολη*, N. Stampolidis (ed.), Athens, 200.
- Yangaki, A. 2005
La céramique des IV^e–VIII^e siècles ap. J.-C. d’ Eleutherna, Athens.
- Younger, J.G. 1988
The iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean sealstones and finger rings, Bristol.
- Younger, J.G. 1993
Bronze Age Aegean seals in their middle phase (ca. 1700–1500 B.C.) (SIMA 102), Jonsered.
- Younger, J. 2011
‘Petras hieroglyphic documents, a web edition with commentary’, <http://people.ku.edu/~jyounger/Hiero/PEtexts.html>, January 2011.
- Yule, P. 1980
Early Cretan seals. A study in chronology (Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 4), Mainz.
- Zamora, J.-A. 2000
La vid y el vino en Ugarit (Banco de Datos Filológicos Semíticos Nordoccidentales, Monografías 6), Madrid, 2000.
- Zapheiroupolou, P. 1984
‘The chronology of the Kampos group’, in *The prehistoric Cyclades: contributions to a workshop on Cycladic chronology (in memoriam: John Langdon Caskey, 1908–1981)*, R.L.N. Barber & J.A. MacGillivray (eds.), Edinburgh, 31–40.
- Zapheiroupolou, P. 2008
‘Early Bronze Age cemeteries of the Kampos group on Ano Kouphonisi’, in Brodie *et al.* 2008, 183–94.
- Ziffer, I. 1990
At that time the Canaanites were in the land: daily life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2, 2000–1550 BCE, Tel Aviv.
- Zois, A. 1990
‘Pour un schéma évolutif de l’architecture minoenne: A. Les fondations. Techniques et morphologie’, in Darcque & Treuil 1990, 75–93.
- Zois, A. 1997
Κρήτη: Η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού. Αρχαιολογία και ιστορία σχεδόν όλων των θέσεων της νήσου από τις πιο ανατολικές ως τις πιο δυτικές περιοχές, 1–7, Athens.
- Zois, A. 1998
Κρήτη: Η Πρώιμη Εποχή του Χαλκού. Αρχαιολογία και Ιστορία σχεδόν όλων των θέσεων της νήσου από τις πιο ανατολικές ως τις πιο δυτικές περιοχές 4: Βόρεια Κεντρική Κρήτη: Κνωσός, Πύργος, Αρχάνες, Κυπαρίσσι και άλλες θέσεις, Athens.